

INTRODUCTION
TO THE
PĀÑCARĀTRA
AND THE
AHIRBUDHNYA SAMHITĀ

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PREFATORY NOTE

THE book, small in size but rich in contents, which is herewith placed before the public, has been written by a prisoner of war during his captivity at Ahmednagar, though some of the materials on which it is based had, fortunately, been collected by him before the War broke out. Only three of the Saṃhitā MSS. of the Adyar Library, namely those of nos. 8, 70 and 195 of the synopsis on pp. 6 fl., which were acquired recently, have remained entirely unknown to Dr. Schrader.

The burden of seeing the work through the press has fallen on the undersigned who, though having done all in his power to acquit himself honourably of his task, is fully aware of its difficulties and of the inadequacy of his knowledge of Sanskrit to cope with these with complete success. It was impossible under such circumstances to produce an absolutely faultless work; still, a glance at the list of Additions and Corrections will show that the purely typographical errors found by the Author in the printed sheets are of a trifling nature. Two omissions in the MS., however, have caused a few words of importance to fall out which must be restored at once. These omissions are given in the Errata for p. 16, l. 12 from bottom, p. 32 l. 6 from bottom, and p. 42 l. 10. The reader should also correct immediately the erratum for p. 24.

The Author has undoubtedly doubled the value of his monograph by adding to it copious Indexes and a detailed synopsis of the contents. Together they render the

whole of the subject-matter of the book in all its categories instantaneously available for reference. Thus the work may preliminarily serve as a concise but encyclopædic reference book on the Pāñcarātra, until it shall be superseded by subsequent more exhaustive publications. The Numeral Index contains some items not found elsewhere in the book.

A personal word in conclusion. The publication of this little work coincides with the severance of the connection with the Adyar Library—though for wholly different reasons—of both Dr. Schrader and myself. I may be permitted to express here my great satisfaction at having had the privilege of watching over the booklet on its way through the press, a last service rendered to the Adyar Library in close and pleasant co-operation with Dr. Schrader, which puts a term to a period of over seven years' daily collaboration with the same aims, in the same spirit and in complete harmony, for the same object.

May Dr. Schrader's last official work performed for the Library enhance the renown of that Institution, and may it be judged to constitute a fit conclusion to his eleven years' tenure of office as Director of the Adyar Library.

The publication of this book also, as that of the two volumes of the text edition of *Ahīrbudhnya Samhitā*, has been greatly facilitated by the courtesy of the military censors at Ahmednagar, to whom our sincere thanks are due.

ADYAR,
August 1916.

JOHAN VAN MANEN,
Assistant Director, Adyar Library.

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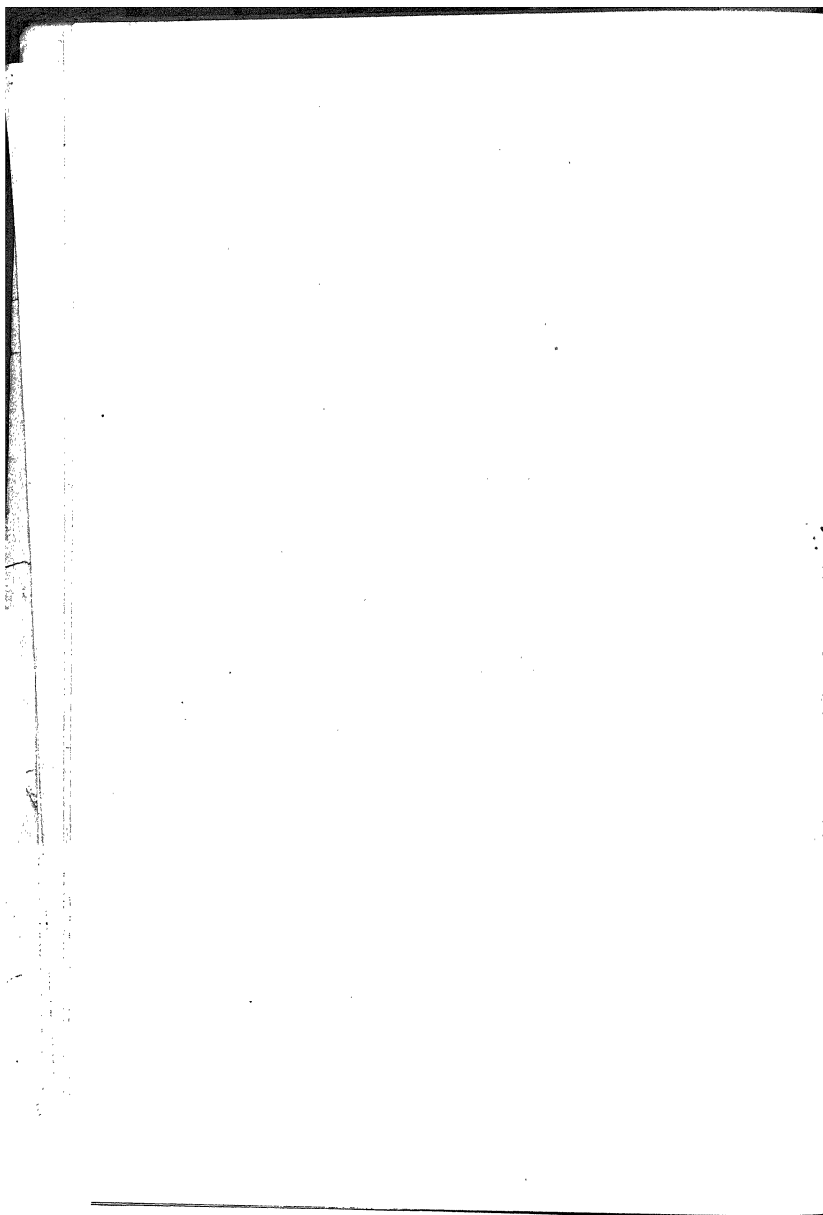
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INTRODUCTION TO THE PĀÑCARĀTRA AND THE AHIRBUDHNYA SAMHITĀ

INTRODUCTORY REMARK

THE publication of the Ahirbudhnya Samhitā, by the Adyar Library¹, has been undertaken with a view to starting investigations in a branch of Sanskrit literature which was once cultivated in countries as far distant from each other as Kasmir, Orissa and Mysore, but is now practically extinct except in a very few places of Southern India where considerable remnants of it are still being preserved and partly even studied. Some scanty information about it has, indeed, reached the West, and a few of the Samhitās of the Pāñcarātras have been published; still, when asked about the latter, most orientalists will even now be likely to confess that they have so far seen only the "Nārada Pāñcarātra", "a Tāntric work of little if any value"², while, as to the philosophy of the Pāñcarātra, the theory of the Avatāras in its common Vaiṣṇavite form and a very elementary conception of the doctrine of the Vyūhas (derived from the commentaries on Brahma Sūtra II, 2, 42) will be found to be all that is known. An attempt will be made in the following pages to provide the future student of this unexplored field with a provisional foundation.

¹ Two volumes, Adyar Library, Adyar, Madras, S., 1916.

² *Au-dessous du mōlōcra*, is the final judgment of the Rev. A. Roussel's *Étude du Pāñcarātra, Mélanges de Harles*, p. 265.

I. THE LITERATURE OF THE PĀÑCARĀTRAS

The literature of the Pāñcarātras, like other sectarian literatures, falls into two broad divisions comprising respectively works of inspired or divine origin and such as are of human authorship. The latter class, entirely dependent on the former, consists chiefly of what are called *vidhi* and *prayoga*: digests, commentaries, extracts and studies on special subjects, and the like. The former class, with which alone we are here concerned, consists of the Samhitās or "compositions" (compendia), that is, metrical works dealing, in so many chapters (*adhyāya*, *paṭala*), with a number of topics, if not the whole, of the Pāñcarātra system. The name Samhitā, as is well known, is also applied to the Law-books ("Manu Samhitā", etc.) and need not, therefore, indicate any intention to imitate or replace the Vedic Samhitās, which are compilations of a very different character. Instead of Samhitā the name Tantra is often used, evidently in exactly the same sense, and both these words, as also the word Kāṇḍa, are also applied to each of the main topics of a philosophical or religious system. For instance, in the twelfth chapter of Ahirbudhnya Samhitā we read of the Bhagavat Samhitā, Karma Samhitā, Vidyā Samhitā, and seven other Samhitās, and equally of the Pati Tantra, Pasu Tantra, Pāsa Tantra, etc., constituting respectively the Sāttvata and the Pāsupata systems.

It is a strange misfortune that of all the works bearing the name of the Pāñcarātra (Pāñcarātra)¹ exactly the one

¹ Both the system and its followers are usually called *Pāñcarātra*, but for the system the name *Pāñcarātra* and for its followers *Pāñcarātrīn* (*Pāñcarātrika*) are also used.

Samhitā called Jñānāmṛtasāra or Nāradiya was destined to survive in Northern India in order to be published by the Asiatic Society of Bengal under the name of "Nārada Pāñcarātra". For it was taken for granted afterwards that this production, the late origin and apocryphal character of which has now been exposed by Sir R. G. Bhandarkar¹, and which in the South of India has ever since been rejected as spurious, was a faithful reflection of the real Pāñcarātra; and thus it happened that an altogether wrong impression of the latter obtained until quite recently both in Europe and, with the exception of the small Vaiṣṇavite circle mentioned above, even in India.

It was also unknown, until recently, that other Samhitās are extant, and even Sir R. G. Bhandarkar, in his article on "The Pāñcarātra or Bhāgavata system" published in 1913², still speaks of only the Sāttvata Samhitā being available (besides the spurious Nārada P.), thus ignoring the paper on "the Pāñcarātras or Bhāgavat-Sāstra", by A. Govindācārya Svāmin, published in 1911 in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland.³

To obtain a general view, however imperfect, of the material to be taken into account, is evidently the first thing required of anyone approaching an unknown literature. Now, in the case of the Pāñcarātra, tradition mentions one hundred and eight Samhitās, and in a few texts about this number are actually enumerated. Such lists, coquetting with the sacred number 108, are, of course, open to suspicion. The fact, however, that none of the

¹ *Encyclopædia of Indo-Aryan Research* III, 6, p. 40-41.

² *Loc. cit.*, pp. 38-41.

³ Which also mentions, on p. 956, our edition of *Ahimbudhnyu Samhitā* (then in the press).

available lists of Saṃhitās, including those which pretend to give 108 names, actually conforms to this number but all of them enumerate either more names or less, is one thing telling in their favour; and when, as is the case, it can further be shown that a respectable number of the texts enumerated are still available, while not a few of the others are found to be quoted or summarised in the later literature, and that a number of Saṃhitās which are not included in any of the lists, are either extant or quoted — then the value of the latter can no longer be denied. We have, consequently, collated those lists, four in all, and with them a fifth list found in the Agni Purāṇa, and as a result offer the following table in which all the names occurring in the lists have been arranged in alphabetical order. The figures added to the right of the names indicate the place each Saṃhitā occupies in the said lists: this, as will be seen, is of some importance for determining the mutual relation of the lists, etc. The following abbreviations are used (in addition to K., P., V., H., A. referring to the lists themselves):

- p.* = published [and preserved in MS.].
- l.* = not published but preserved in MS. in a public library [and privately].
- v.* = neither published nor in any public library, but known to be preserved privately, in some village, etc.

†(Dagger before name) = quoted in some work of the post-Saṃhitā literature.

A.L. = Adyar Library.

M.G.L. = Madras Government Oriental MSS. Library.

P.B. = Vedāntadesika's *Pāñcourātraraṣṣā*, edition, Vyāhārataraṅgiṇī Press, Madras, 1883.

Grantha type. Editor and publisher
Sāṅkhaपुरam Rāghavācārya.

P.U. = *Pañcarātrotsavasamgraha*, MS. of Adyar
Library.

Neither the number of daggers nor that of *v.*'s may be said to be exhaustive. The Kapiñjala list (first column) comprises 106 names, the list of Pādma Tantra (second column) 112¹, that of Viṣṇu Tantra (third column) 141², that of Hayasiṃsa Saṃhitā (fourth column) 34, and that found in the 39th adhyāya of Agni (Āgneya) Purāṇa only 25.

A still shorter list, namely that of the apocryphal Nāradiya mentioned above, has not been taken into account; it comprises the following seven names: Brāhma, Śaiva³, Kaumāra, Vasiṣṭha, Kāpila, Gautamiya, and Nāradiya.

¹ Govindācārya, *loc. cit.*, p. 954, omits the four Saṃhitās named in the first half of śloka 105 of the edition, perhaps because this line was not in his MS., which, however, may be a case of haplography caused by the identical ending (in *Vāmanāhvayam*) of this and the preceding line. For, as proved by our table, there were at least two Vāmana Saṃhitās, and the second pāda of the omitted line, namely *Jaiminam Vāmanāhvayam*, is found in nearly the same form (*Vāmanam Jaiminīyakaṃ*) in an otherwise different śloka of the Kapiñjala list. Still, as it can be proved that the Pādma list is corrupt in at least one place (*Kāṣṇyam* for *Kāṣṇam*, see remark in our table), it would not be surprising to find that the first or second *Vāmanāhvayam* is a misreading for *Vāsavāhvayam* (=Vasu Saṃhitā).

² We do not regard *padmatantram mahātantram* in śloka 26 as the names of two Saṃhitās but supply an *iti* between the two words; cf. the word *mahātantram* in the next three lines.

³ This may be the Śiva, Śarva, or Ahirbudhnya of our synopsis.

*Synopsis of the Saṃhitā lists found in Kapiṇjala,
Pādma, Viṣṇu, and Uayasīrṣa Saṃhitās
and in the Agni Purāṇa.*

	NAME OF SAṂHITĀ	PLACE IN LISTS					REMARKS
		K.	P.	V.	H.	A.	
1. 1.	† Agastya, Āgastya	84	77	99	...	...	These works of this name are extant: (1) <i>Agastya-Saṃhitā</i> (M.G.L., A.L., V.) (2) <i>Agastya-Nārada-saṃvāda</i> (M.G.L. 5192). (3) A work of 6 or more paṭalas (M.G.L. 5191).
	2. Āṅgira, Āṅgiraṣa (I)	...	50	90	...	...	Āṅgira, P.; Āṅgiriya, V.
	3. do. (II)	...	84	...	...	...	Āṅgiraṣa.
	4. Ācyuta	...	...	22	...	...
	5. Ādhokṣaja	...	...	30	...	...
	6. † Ananta, Ananta (I)	67	37	86	...	...	Anantākhyā (throughout).
1. 7.	do. (II)	48	...	51	...	...	Ananta, K.; Anantamūrti, V. The "Sesa Saṃhitā" preserved in A. L. seems too modern to be referred to in the Pādma list.
1. 8.	† Aniruddha	7	...	6	...	...
9.	Ambara	...	92	...	...	...
10.	Aṣṭāṅgaravidhāna	...	...	25	24	...	A. list reads "Aṣṭāṅga".
p. 11.	† Ahirbudhnyā	...	98	...	...	...	Cf. Iṣāna and Śiva.
12.	Āgneya	...	93	72	...	...	<i>Agniṣrota Pāñcarātra</i> P.R. (p. 14 l. 2); cf. Pāvaka, Vāhika.
	Āṅgiraṣa, see Āṅgira.						
	Ātreya	99	40	...	19	19	
	Ananta, see Ananta.						
14.	Ananda	...	...	...	21	21	Error for Ananta?
15.	Arūpa	...	...	...	22	22	
16.	† Iśāna	47	...	78	...	...	Cf. Ahirbudhnyā, Śarva, Śiva.
p. 17.	† Iśvara	31	36	66	10	10	
18.	Uttaragārgya	100	62	115	...	...	Gārgya, K.
19.	Udaśka	...	...	136	...	...
1. 20.	Upendra, Anupendra	...	45	28	...	...	M.G.L. 5200 must be a later work than P. 45.
	Umāmāheśvara	...	104	...	...	...
22.	Anupagāyana	...	75	...	...	...
23.	Auramaṣa	78	62	...	...	...
24.	Kaṇva, Kāṇva	...	78	180	...	...	P. ad. reads <i>Kāṇva</i> , but see <i>ibid.</i> IV, 33. 197.
p. 25.	† Kapijjala	...	...	123	...	...
26.	Kaliraghava	...	111	...	...	...

	NAME OF SAMHITĀ	PLACE IN LISTS					REMARKS
		K.	P.	V.	H.	A.	
27.	Kātyāyana	...	73	...	...	...
28.	† Kāpila	59	97	113	17	16	
29.	Kāma	...	...	70	...	...
30.	Kāśyapa, soo Kṛṣṇa.	...	...	138	...	...
31.	Kālikā	81	85	...	...	...
32.	Kūrma	...	...	36	...	...
33.	Kṛṣṇa, Kāśyapa	28	91	31	...	...
34.	Kośa	13	...	8	...	...
35.	Kaṇva	87	...	82	...	...
36.	Kaṇva, soo Skānda.	...	...	91	...	...
37.	Kraśa	24	...	...	...	...
38.	Khaṇḍava, soo Tār-	57	...	69	...	...
39.	Garuda, Gāruḍa	53	...	59	...	...
40.	Garudadhvaṇa	...	...	25	...	...
41.	† Gārgya	55	...	114	...	...
v. 42.	Gālava	...	...	7	6	...	
43.	Govinda	15	...	11	...	...
44.	Gautama, nīya	66	58	98	...	...
45.	Janārdana	...	...	32	...	...
46.	Janādagui, Jāna-	26	62	38	...	...
47.	do. (II)	...	...	106	...	...
48.	† Jayākhya	30	39	81	...	...
49.	† Jayottama	...	...	85	...	...
50.	Jābala	...	...	141	...	...
51.	Jāma, nīya	97	71	121	...	...
v. 52.	Jñānaśāstra, Jñānaśā-	...	...	15	14	...	
53.	† Tattvasāgara	...	22	...	...	...
54.	Tantrasāgara	3	...	...	...	...
55.	Tārkaṣya (I)	77	...	...	...	...
	do. (II), soo Vih-	...	...	...	...	...
56.	Tejodhrāva	...	25	...	...	...
57.	Trivikrama	17	...	14	...	...
58.	Trailokyamohana	...	5	43	2	2	
59.	Trailokyavijaya	...	87	...	...	...
60.	† Dakṣa	...	44	...	...	...
61.	Dattatreya	...	105	104	...	...
62.	Dadhica	...	...	125	...	...
63.	Dūmodara	22	...	19	...	...
64.	Durgā	...	...	57	...	...
65.	† Duvāsas, Daurvā-	79	...	107	...	...
66.	Devāla	...	...	129	...	...
67.	Dyānādīya	...	9	...	...	...
68.	Dhruva	...	...	108	...	...

Cf. Kāśyapottana, M.G.L. 5215.

Cf. remark on Kāśyapa.

Khaṇḍavaśāstra quoted in P. U. may be the same.

Cf. Tārkaṣya, Vihagondra.

Cf. Uttaraṅgārgya. Pārsva Gālava II.; Gārgya Gālava, A.

Tattvasāgarasāstra, P. R. (p. 28).

Probably=Tantrasāraṇīkā, P. R. (pp. 4, 5).

Cf. Viṣṇuśāstra?

	NAME OF SAMHITĀ	PLACE IN LISTS					REMARKS
		K.	P.	V.	H.	A.	
69.	† Nala(Nāla)kūbara	88	4	131	Not identical with the published "Nārada Pañcenātra".
l. 70.	† Nārada, -diya	62	8	133	6	7	
71.	† Nāra(Nr)siṃha	11	81	29	20	20	Of. Garuḍa, Tārṅgyn, Viha-gondra.
72.	† Nārāyaṇa, -ṇiya	8	64	9	14	18	
73.	Nairṛta	...	...	74	...	...
74.	Paikṣi	68	...	...	...	...
75.	† Pañcāprasna	69	21	Same as Mahāpuruṣa ?
76.	Padmanābha	21	...	18	...	...
77.	† Padmodbhava	29	2	79	29	...	
78.	† Para(Parama)-puruṣa	...	56	...	...	...
79.	† Parama	1	7	2	34	...	Pārāśarya (throughout). Tārāśarya. The published text cannot be P. 66, but may be K. 66.
80.	Parāśara, Pārāśarya (I)	60	65	65	...	...
p. 81.	† do. (II)	34	
82.	Pāpiniya	98	...	118	Of. Āgneya, Vāhuka.
p. 83.	† Pādma	51	1	83	...	...
l. 84.	† Paramesvara	39	48	67	...	...
85.	Pārāvata	54	...	...	...	...
	Pārāśarya, see Parā-sara.	...	...	...	...	...
86.	Pārsada	...	101	...	...	...
87.	Pāvaka	82	...	...	...	...
88.	Pippala	...	...	117	...	...
89.	Puṇḍarikākṣa	...	...	27	...	...
90.	Purāṇa	...	...	80	...	...
91.	Puraṣottama	106	19	21	...	...
	Pulaṣṭya, see Pulaṣ-tya.	...	...	...	...	...
	Pulaha, see Paulaha.	...	...	...	...	...
	Paṭi, see Bhīmi.	...	...	...	...	...
92.	Paingala	...	86	Of. Rāghava.
93.	Paulaṣṭya	82	69	88	...	...
94.	Paulaha	83	...	90	...	...
95.	† Pauṣkara	2	11	4	4	4	
96.	† Pradyumna	6	109	5	...	...
	Prasna, see Pañcāprasna and Sri-prasna.	...	...	...	...	...
97.	† Prahlāda	...	...	184	6	5
98.	Prācetasā	...	112	...	...	...
99.	Balabhadra	...	...	40	...	...
100.	Bārhaspatya	...	70	...	...	...
101.	Bṛhadrāghava	27	...	...	...	...
102.	Bodhāyana	86	79	...	23	23	
l. 103.	† Brahma, Brāhma	9	...	64	33	...	} Same ?
104.	Brahmanārada	...	102	...	...	...
105.	Bhāgavata	...	88	...	26	...	
p. 106.	† Bhāradvāja	65	80	100	...	...

	NAME OF SAṂHITĀ	PLACE IN LISTS					REMARKS
		K.	P.	V.	H.	A.	
	107. † Bhārgava-viṇa	63	55	87	...	...
	108. Bhāṇi, Puṣṭi	55	41	55	...	...
	109. Madhusūdana	16	...	13	...	...
	110. Mahāpurusa	86	...	33	...	...
	111. Mahāprajña	90	...	...	...	...
	112. Mahālakṣmī	50	...	...	...	...
	1. 113. † Mahāsamantakumāra	...	95	...	...	...	Cf. Lakṣmī.
	114. Mahiprasna	...	18	...	...	...
	Mahendra, see Mahendra.						
	115. Māṅga	23	...	35	...	...
	116. Mādhava	14	...	10	...	...
	117. Mānava	...	...	116	...	...
	118. Mārīci	...	43	...	...	...
	119. Māyā	...	...	137	...	...
	120. † Māyāvaibhava	35	3	...	...	...	} Same ?
	v. 121. † Mārkaṇḍeya (I)	73	94	111	...	...	} Doubt as to which of the two is preserved and quoted.
	122. do. (II)	...	100	...	...	...
	123. Māhendra, Mahendra	41	20	71	...	...
	124. Māla	89	40	...	...	...
	125. Medinipati	105	...	50	...	...
	126. Maitreya	75	...	128	...	...
	127. † Maudgalya	...	...	112	...	...
	128. Yajñamūrti	...	...	49	...	...	Cf. Vārāha.
	129. Yama, Yamyu	43	63	73	...	...
	v. 130. Yajñavalkya	72	57	109	...	...	Possibly = Yajñavalkya Vijaya preserved in Śrī- māgani. Cf. Viṣṇuyoga.
	131. Yoga	103	88	...	...	...
	132. Yogahrdaya	...	46	...	...	...
	133. Raghava-viṇa	25	99	39	...	...
	p. 134. † Lakṣmī	...	...	54	...	...	Cf. Mahālakṣmī.
	135. Lakṣmīnārāyaṇa	...	...	41	...	...
	136. Lakṣmīpati	104	...	45	...	...
	137. Lāṅgala	...	...	103	...	...
	138. Vārāha, see Vārāha.	...	107	...	...	...
	139. Vānu	...	...	185	...	...
	140. Vāgni, see Vāhnika.	...	...	...	...	...
	141. Vāgīra	...	23	...	...	...	Cf. Hayasirpa.
	142. Vāmadēva	74	...	124	...	...
	v. 143. † Vāmana (I)	18	72	15	...	...	} Doubt as to which of the three is preserved and quoted.
	144. do. (II)	96	110	...	...	...
	145. do. (III)	...	68	...	...	...
	146. Vāyu, Vāyavya, Vāya-viṇa	45	89	76	...	...
	147. Vārāha	12	...	37	81	...	Cf. Yajñamūrti
	148. Vāruṇa	44	90	75	...	...
	149. Vālmika	...	74	...	...	...
	l. 150. † Vāseṣṭha	70	...	12	13	...	
	151. † Vāsodeva	4	10	3	...	...
	152. Vāhnika	42	...	...	...	...	Cf. Āgneya, Pāvaka.
	Viriṣci	38	...	63	...	...

	NAME OF SAMHITĀ	PLACE IN LISTS					REMARKS
		K.	P.	V.	H.	A.	
152.	Viśva	...	15	...	24	25	Called, in H., <i>Viśvāvatāra</i> . Probably same as Viśvavara mentioned in P. U.
1. 154.	+ Viśvāmītra	92		101			<p>The three works extant are:</p> <p>(1) one Viṣṇu Samhitā consisting of 80 patakas (M.G.L., A.L.);</p> <p>(2) one + Viṣṇu Tantra being a <i>Yājño-Saunaka-saṃvāda</i> (A. L.);</p> <p>(3) one + Viṣṇu Samhitā being a <i>Vasiṣṭha-Jābāli-saṃvāda</i> (M. G. L.).</p> <p>Of these the second is the one containing the list of Samhitās with itself as No. 1.</p>
1. 155.	Viṣṇu (I)	...	...	7	...	...
1. 156.	do. (II)	10	97	1	28	...	
1. 157.	do. (III)	...	...	48	...	...
1. 158.	+ Viṣṇutattva	33	30	12	Profounds to be part of Khagesvara S.
p. 159.	+ Viṣṇulāka	...	6	...	...	...
160.	Viṣṇuyoga	53	Evidently Yoga.
1. 161.	+ Viṣṇurāhasya	82	20	...	Probably Vaiṣṇava.
162.	Viṣṇuvaiṣṇava	34	33	...	...	...
163.	Viṣṇusādhava	...	28	...	...	...
164.	Viṣṇusāmbhava	...	...	42	...	...
165.	Viṣṇusāra	26	Cf. Siddhānta Pāścātmīya, P. R. (p. 4, ll. 16, 20).
166.	+ Viṣṇusiddhānta	37	29	...	...	...
167.	+ Viṣṇukṣema	62	51	61	Cf. Viṣṇuvaiṣṇava.
1. 168.	+ Viṣṇugandha, Tārṇya	49	54	60	18	17	
169.	Vaiṣṇava, see Vai- hāyasa.	46	Cf. Tārṇya, etc.; V. list reads Vaiṣṇava. For V. list reads Sakra. For Sarva cf. Iśāna, Śiva.
170.	Vaiṣṇava	...	...	...	3	3
171.	+ Vaiṣṇava, Vyāsa	61	96	96	...	...
172.	+ Vaiṣṇava	91	53	132	...	...
173.	Sarva (Sakra ?)	...	106	105	Cf. Iśāna, Sarva.
174.	Sāketāyana	...	...	119	...	...
175.	Sākalāyana, Sākalāyana	78	60	120	...	...
1. 176.	+ Sāndilya, Sāndilya	71	...	122	9	9	
177.	+ Sāntāpā	101	83	110	...	...
178.	Sānti	...	...	62	...	...
179.	Śiva	...	...	...	27	...
180.	Sukarudra	...	103	...	...	...
181.	Sukra	...	...	127	...	...
182.	+ Saunaka, -kiya	64	42	97	13	12	

	NAME OF SAMHITĀ	PLACE IN LISTS					REMARKS
		K.	P.	V.	H.	A.	
183.	Sri	...	...	55	...	...
184.	+ Śrīkara	...	26	52	...	...
	Śrīkṛṣṇa, see Kṛṣṇa.						
185.	Sridhara	19	...	16	...	...
186.	Srinivāsa	...	...	24	...	...
p. 187.	+ Śrīprasna	08	18	84	8	8	
188.	Srivalabha	...	...	47	...	...
189.	Svetaketu	...	...	140	...	...
190.	+ Saṃvarta, Sāṃvarta	80	27	102	...	...
191.	+ Saṃkaraṣaṇa	5	108	4	...	...
192.	Satyā	..	14	...	11	11	Cf. Sāttvata?
193.	Sadāviṣṇu	102	...	...	...	...
194.	Sanaka	94	13	94	...	...
l. 195.	+ Sanatkumāra	95	12	92	...	...
196.	Sananda, Sānanda	93	16	93	...	...
197.	Sarvasaṅgala	...	...	120	...	...
p. 198.	+ Sāttvata	...	24	...	...	...	Cf. Satya?
199.	Sāmānya	...	...	82	...	...
200.	Sārasvata	...	...	58	...	...
201.	+ Soma, Saumya (I)	46	35	77	...	...	} Doubt as to place of +
202.	do. (II)	...	...	139	...	...
203.	Sauna, Sūrya	...	34	80	...	...
204.	Skanda, Kaumāra	50	31	68	...	...
205.	Śrīyaṃbhava	...	...	...	16	15	
l. 206.	+ Hayasirya	...	...	44	1	1	V. list reads <i>Hayagrīva</i> . Cf. Vāgisa.
207.	Hari	...	...	28	...	...
208.	Hārīta	...	47	...	...	...
209.	+ Hiraṇyagarbha	40	76	65	...	...
210.	Irṣīkoṣa	20	17	...	...	...

To the above 210 names have to be added those of a few Samhitās which are extant but apparently not included in any of the lists, to wit:

211. Another Upendra Samhitā, being an *Upendra-Kaṇva-saṃvāda*, recent, perhaps the work mentioned in V. list (cf. our remark in the Synopsis). MS. no. 5209 of M. G. L.

212. Kāśyapottara Samhitā of which M.G.L. has no less than four copies (nos. 5215 ff.).

213. Paramatattvanirṇayaṇaprakāśa Samhitā, containing the instruction of the god Brahmā by Śrīhama on the origin of the world, an important though not very ancient work of which fifteen adhyāyas of the first pariccheda are represented, in MS., in M.G.L. (no. 5300) and twice in A.L.

214. Pādmasaṃhitā Tantra, M.G.L. 5296, which, however, may be found to be a portion of Saṃskṛtāra Samhitā (cf. colophon in Descr. Cat.).

215. Bṛhad Brahma Samhitā, another recent work, published twice (see below).

There are further a number of Samhitās quoted or mentioned by name which seem to be different from those of the lists. We mention the following, but a complete list should some day reveal many more names :

Citrāsikhāṇḍī, Mañkaṇa Vaisampāyana, Sukaprasna, Srikālapara, Sudarṣana, Saumantava, Hamsa, Hamsapāramesvara.¹

Among the few Samhitās found in libraries outside the Madras Presidency (in India or Europe) there is none which is not also represented in one of its three great public libraries, namely the Tanjore Palace Library, the Madras Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, and the Adyar Library of the Theosophical Society. The first of these (possessing but a few of the P. Samhitās) has made no new acquisitions since Bunnell's time; the Pāñcarātra MSS. of the second are described in vol. XI of its Descriptive Catalogue; the Adyar Library collection, not described so far and growing constantly², comprises at present the following nos. of our Synopsis: 1, 7, 8, 11, 48, 70, 81, 83, 84, 106, 113, 134, 149, nos. 1 and 2 of the Viṣṇu Samhitās, 154, 158, 161, 168, 176, 187, 195, and 206; further no. 213.

The editions of Samhitās, most of which are now not easily obtained, are the following eleven³:

¹ For Sukaprasna of the colophon of M.G.L. 5366 (third Viṣṇu Samhitā): *itī Sukapāñcarātra Viṣṇusamhitāyām*, etc., and for the last two names Samhitā no. 213 above. Srikālapara, presumably identical with Srikālottara quoted in *Srutaparakusikā*, and Hamsapāramesvara are both quoted in *Spandayradhikā* (ed. p. 33); Mañkaṇa is mentioned in Vedāntadesikā's *Rahasyarakṣā*; the other names are from *Pāñcarātrarakṣā*.

² It being one of our special aims to make this collection as complete as possible.

³ The second entry refers to the script used, the last gives the name of the editor (who is also the publisher, if the press is not the publisher). A portion of Ahirbudhnyā Samhitā, in the Telugu character, is not worth description.

1. *Īśvara Saṃhitā*, Telugu, Sadvidyā Press, Mysore, 1890, Yogi Pārthasārathi Ayyangār.

2. *Kapīñjala Saṃhitā*, Telugu, Kalyāṇa-kumāravilāsa Press, Tirukkovalūr, no year, Yogi, etc. (see 1).

3. *Parāśara Saṃhitā*, Telugu, Vāgīśvari Mudrākshara Śālā Press, Bangalore, 1898. Iyyunṇi Rāghavācārya.

4. *Pādma Tantra*, Telugu, 1891, rest as in 1.

5, 6. *Brhad Brahma Saṃhitā*: (5) Telugu. Śrīveṅkaṭeśvaranilaya Press, Tiruppati, 1909, no name; (6) Devanāgarī, Ānandāśrama Press, Poona, H. N. Apte.

7. *Bhāradvāja Saṃhitā*, Telugu, no year, rest as in 1.

8. *Lakṣmī Tantra*, Telugu, 1888, rest as in 1.

9. *Viṣṇutilaka*, Telugu, Bangalore, 1896. Rāghavācārya.

10. *Śrīprasna Saṃhitā*, Grantha, Maṅgalavilāsa Press, Kumbakonam, 1904, J. Rāmasvāmi Bhaṭṭācārya.

11. *Sāttvata Saṃhitā*, Devanāgarī, Sudar-sana Press, Conjeeveram, 1902, P. B. Anantha Chariar.

With the exception of *Brhad Brahma Saṃhitā* all of these need re-editing, a critical edition of 4, 8, and 11 being particularly desirable.

That occasionally the same name has been given to two or even more different works, is nothing unusual in the Āgamic literature. For instance, among the Śākta Tantras there are, according to Dutt's list¹, three Prapañca Tantras, two Harigaurī Tantras, three Kubjikā Tantras, two Yoginī Tantras, and two Mṛdani (?) Tantras. It is quite possible, for this reason, that the above Synopsis is wrong here and there in referring the same name in

¹ Translation of Mahānirvāṇa Tantra, Introduction, pp. VII—IX.

different lists to the same work. Vice versa, the identity of Ananta and Śeṣa, Vihagendra and Tārksya, etc., suggests the possibility that in a few cases two or three different names may have been erroneously reckoned in our table as referring to so many different works.

At any rate, this much may be said with certainty, that the literature we are concerned with is a huge one. For, even supposing there were only 200 Saṃhitās, and trying to calculate, by means of the extant works, their total extent, we find that the Saṃhitā literature of the Pāñcarātras must have once amounted to not less but probably more than one and a half million ślokaś. Truly, the Saṃhitās have some right to speak of "the ocean of the Pāñcarātra"!

The chronology of the Saṃhitās will, of necessity, remain a problem for some time to come. Not until the extant Saṃhitās as well as the later literature have been thoroughly examined, will it be possible to fix approximately the century of each of the former and of some even of the lost Saṃhitās. However, a few general remarks on the subject may already be hazarded now.

Our earliest source of information on the Pāñcarātra is believed to be the so-called Nāradya section of the Śānti Parvan of the Mahābhārata.¹ This view seems to receive further support from the fact that apparently all of the extant Saṃhitās are full of the so-called Tāntric element which in the Mahābhārata is, on the contrary, conspicuous by

¹ It is interesting to note in this connection that according to Śrīpras'na (II, 41), Viṣṇutilaka (I, 140 and 145), and other texts, the original Pāñcarātra had an extent of one and a half crores.

² It has often been analysed, most recently by Bhandarkar, *loc. cit.*, pp. 4—8.

its absence. However, it may be questioned whether Tāntrism is really altogether absent in the Mahābhārata, and even granting it is, this would not prove that it did not already exist when the Nāradiya was composed. It is most probable, indeed, that, though the Mahābhārata itself was not, still some, if not most of the heterodox systems referred to in it, were already tinged with the said element. The allusion to Sāttvata-vidhi, at the end of the 66th adhyāya of Bhīṣma Parvan¹, could hardly refer to anything else than a Saṃhitā of the very character of those extant. Moreover, the Nāradiya account does not give the impression of being based on first-hand knowledge: it may have been composed by an outsider who was impressed by the story of Śvetadvīpa but not interested in the ritualistic details of the system.

At any rate, the possibility of the existence of Pāñcārātra Saṃhitās at and before the time of the Nāradiya cannot well be denied. But the assertion, by Paṇḍit P. B. Anantācārya, in the Bhūmikā to his edition of Sāttvata Saṃhitā, that the expression *sāttvata-vidhi* in the above-mentioned passage of the Bhīṣma Parvan² distinctly refers to that particular Saṃhitā because of the words "sung by Saṃkarṣaṇa" is unfortunately not admissible. The same claim could be made, with even better reasons, for the present Saṃhitā, in that it is an account, by Ahirbudhnya, of what he had learnt from Saṃkarṣaṇa himself when the Dvāpara age came to a close.³ The coincidence, however, is quite irrelevant, not only

¹ Bhandarkar, *loc. cit.*, p. 40.

² *Sāttvataṃ vidhiṃ āsthāya gītaḥ Saṃkarṣaṇena yaḥ |*
Dvāparaśya yugasyānta ādan Kālīyugasya ca ||

³ *Dvāpara-velāyām* (I, 71), *Dvāpara-saṃlīhy-aṃśe* (I, 73), *prāptaṃ Saṃkarṣaṇāt sūkṣīt* (II, 4). In Sāttvata Saṃhitā Saṃkarṣaṇa is the questioner, not the teacher.

because a Saṃkarṣaṇa Saṃhitā is mentioned and quoted¹, but most of all because it is, according to the system, Saṃkarṣaṇa's function to proclaim the Sūtra², which means, according to Ahirb. Saṃhitā (11, 10), that all knowledge comes ultimately from him who, in the beginning, started the great universal system from which all single systems, including the Pāñcarātra, have emanated.

The Pāñcarātra must have originated in the North of India and subsequently spread to the South. Had the opposite taken place, most of the extant Saṃhitās would somehow betray this fact, which is not the case. The story of Svetadvīpa seems even to point to the extreme North, and so do some Saṃhitās, among them Ahirbudhnya, as we shall see. The thesis may therefore be advanced that all Saṃhitās betraying a South-Indian (Dravidian) origin belong to the later stock of the literature.

Of those South Indian Saṃhitās the oldest one now available seems to be the Īśvara Saṃhitā. It enjoins, among other things, the study of the so-called Tamil Veda (*drāmiḍī śruti*) and contains a Māhātmya of Molkote in Mysore. It is quoted thrice by Yāmunācārya³, the teacher of Rāmānuja, who died in the first half of the eleventh century (ca. 1040). Yāmuna claiming for the Āgamas the authority of a fifth Veda, the said Saṃhitā must have been in existence at his time for at least two centuries. This would bring us to about the time of Śaṅkara whom, then, we may provisionally regard as the landmark between the northern and the southern

¹ See our Synopsis, above; the quotation is in Vedāntadesikā's *Pāñcarātrarakṣā*, ed. p. 87, line 5.

² See below: "The Philosophy of the Pāñcarātras", section 2; also our summary, in part III, of adhyāya 11.

³ In his *Āgamapramāṇya*, ed. p. 72.

Pāñcarātra Saṃhitās, bearing in mind, however, that the composition of Saṃhitās did not necessarily cease in the North just when it began in the South, and remembering also that in the southernmost province of Āryan India (the Marāṭha country) something like Pāñcarātra worship seems to have existed as early as the first century before Christ.¹

To the South Indian class of Saṃhitās, which is very much smaller than the northern one, belongs also the above-mentioned Upendra Saṃhitā enjoining particularly the leading of a virtuous life in Śrīraṅgam, and further the voluminous Bṛhad Brahma Saṃhitā (no. 215, above)², with prophecies about Rāmānuja, the only South Indian Saṃhitā, as it seems, which has made its way to the north-west and consequently met with a fate similar to that of the spurious Nāradiya in Bengal, in that it is now "popularly known in the Gujerat country as the Nārada Pāñcarātra".³

Yāmuna's work being the oldest one extant by a South Indian author quoting from the Saṃhitā literature, it is noteworthy that in addition to Isvara Saṃhitā he quotes the Parama, Sāṇḍilya, Sanat-kumāra, Indrarātra (=third Rātra of Mahāsanat-kumāra Saṃhitā), and Padmodbhava Saṃhitās.⁴ Yāmuna's successor, Rāmānuja, quotes also Parama Saṃhitā, further Pauṣkara Saṃhitā and Sāttvata Saṃhitā.

¹ Bhandarkar, *loc. cit.*, p. 4. It remains to be seen whether the worship of only the first two Vyūhas (for which there are still more ancient testimonies, *ibid.* p. 3) was not perhaps a precursor of the Pāñcarātra of the Saṃhitās.

² Which is too recent to be mentioned in the Pādma list and therefore not likely to be identical with Brahma Nārada, as Govindācārya is inclined to believe (*loc. cit.*, p. 955).

³ Govindācārya, J.R.A.S., October 1911, p. 956, note 4.

⁴ *Agamaprāmāṇya* ed. pp. 7, 69, 70, 71, 72.

In the fourteenth century the famous Vedānta-desika wrote a special work on the Pāñcarātra¹ in which he mentions particularly Jayākhyā (9 times), Pāramesvara (6 times), Pauṣkara (5 times), Pādma (4 times), Nāradyā, Śrīkara, Sāttvata (each thrice), Ahirbudhnya, Bhārgava, Varāha, Vihagendra, and Hayagrīva (each twice); moreover the Saṃhitās figuring in our Synopsis as nos. 17, 28, 31, 41, 49, 53, 71, 72, 75, 77, 97, 106, 127, 134, 149, 166 (?), 171, 172, 177, 191, 195, 201 (or 202); Citrasikhaṇḍi, etc. (see p. 12, note 1); and, finally, a few doubtful names such as Tantrasaṃjñika (=Tantrasāgara?), Āgamākhyā, etc.

In the North of India the oldest work quoting the Pāñcarātra, which we can lay hands on, seems to be the *Spandaprādīpikā* of Utpalavaishṇava, who lived in Kasmīr in the tenth century A.D., about one generation before Yāmuna. The Saṃhitās mentioned by name in this work are²: Jayākhyā (Śrījayā, Jayā), Hamsapāramesvara, Vaiḥāyasa, and Śrīkālaparā; while two more names, namely Nārada Saṃgraha and Śrī Sāttvatāḥ³, may, but need not, be connected with some particular Saṃhitā. Of eight other quotations⁴, all of which are vaguely stated to be "in the Pāñcarātra" or "P. Śruti" or "P. Upaniṣad", one is found, in a slightly different form, in Ahirbudhnya Saṃhitā.⁵ Utpalavaishṇava quotes also

¹ *Pāñcarātrarakṣā*, of which there is an edition in Grantha characters (see above) p. 4.

² J. C. Chatterji, *Kashmīr Śaivism*, pp. 13, 16.

³ See pages 9-11-34, 33, 33, 33 of the Vizianagaram edition.

⁴ Pp. 54 and 20, *ibid.*

⁵ *Ibid.* pp. 2, 8, 22, 22, 29, 35, 39, 39.

⁶ XV, 71b: *Prajñā-prāsādam*, etc., reproduced by Utpala (ed. p. 41):

*Prajñā-prāsādam āruhya astocyaḥ śocato jantva |
Bhūmiṣṭhān iva śaślasthaḥ sarvān prajñā-nāpasṛjati ||*

the *Paramārthasāra* in its original Vaiṣṇavite form (not the Śaivite recast by Abhinavagupta).¹ All this, as also his name and that of his father (Trivikrama), proves that Utpala, though a Śaivite author, must have been originally a Vaiṣṇavite. And it further seems to enable us, as since the rise of the Śaivite system (Trika) philosophical Vaiṣṇavism is practically extinct in Kasmīr, and as there is no likelihood of any Pāñcarātra Saṃhitā (except the few spurious works) having been composed in Aryan India after that time, to fix the eighth century A.D. as the terminus ad quem of the original Pāñcarātra Saṃhitās.²

From the above it follows that the Saṃhitā literature falls into three classes: (1) the original Saṃhitās, to which belong most of the extant works; (2) the much smaller South Indian class comprising the legitimate descendants of class 1; and (3) the still smaller class, North and South Indian, of apocryphal or spurious Saṃhitās. To the third class must be assigned all Saṃhitās which are specially connected with some cult or teaching of modern growth such as the exclusive worship of Rāma, Rādhā, etc., and (or) which have given up some essential dogma of the Pāñcarātra, such as that of the Vyūhas.³

¹ Cf. Chatterji, *loc. cit.*, pp. 10-14. Prof. Barnett insists that Abhinavagupta's work, being professedly an "extract" (*sāra*), cannot be based on a work of less extent than itself such as the Vaiṣṇavite *Paramārthasāra*. But surely A. does not mean to say that he has merely extracted, but rather that he has elaborated the essence of the work upon which he based his own.

² Allowing, as indicated above, a minimum of two centuries to pass before a Saṃhitā can become "Śruti" (as which the Pāñcarātra is regarded by Utpala).

³ Both is the case, for instance, with the spurious Nārādīya. Also the Agastya Saṃhitā mentioned by Bhandarkar, *loc. cit.*, p. 67 note 2, if a Pāñcarātra Saṃhitā, would belong to this class, as does the first of our three Agastya Saṃhitās.

The number of oldest Samhitās mentioned increases through internal references: Ahirbudhnya (5, 59) mentions Sāttvata, and the latter (9, 133) Pauṣkara, Vārāha, and Prājāpatya (Brāhma). Direct reference of one Samhitā to another will also be found of great value for determining the mutual chronological relations of the Samhitās. For instance, the fact that Ahirbudhnya mentions Sāttvata (5, 59) and Jayākhyā (19, 64) shows, of course, that these two must be older. So also the hint, in Īsvara S. (1, 64)¹, that the three chief Samhitās are Sāttvata, Pauṣkara, and Jaya, and their respective expansions Īsvara, Pāramesvara, and Pādma, is well worth noticing²; and also the statement, in Pādma Tantra (IV, 23, 137)³, that we should consider as the Six Gems: Pādma, Sanatkumāra, Parama, Padmodbhava, Māhendra, and Kāṇva. These few data enable us to fix already provisionally the chronology of the most important of the ancient Samhitās, in the following way:

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1. Pauṣkara, Vārāha,
Brāhma (order uncertain). | Earlier than 5, order uncertain: Jaya (before 3),
Sanatkumāra, Parama,
Padmodbhava, Māhendra,
Kāṇva |
| 2. Sāttvata | |
| 3. Ahirbudhnya | |
| 4. Pāramesvara ⁴ | |
| 5. Pādma | |
| 6. Īsvara ⁵ (before 800 A.D.) | |

¹ Govindācārya, *loc. cit.*, p. 956.

² And certainly connected with the fact that the only Samhitā commentaries extant, besides one on Bhāradvāja Samhitā, appear to be the following three, preserved in Śrīraṅgam: one Sāttvata-samhitā Bhāṣya by Alasiṅgarabhaṭṭa, son of Yogānandabhaṭṭa; one Īsvara-samhitā Vyākhyā by the same; and one Pāramesvara-samhitā Vyākhyā by Nṛsiṃhasūri, son of Sampatkumārasvāmin.

³ Govindācārya, *loc. cit.*, p. 955 fl.

⁴ Mentioned in the Pādma list, therefore earlier, but later than Ahirbudhnya, to judge from the text preserved in A. L.

⁵ To be distinguished from the one mentioned in the Pādma list; see below.

It appears to be a fact that out of these works the triad *Paṅskara*, *Sāttvata*, and *Jaya* has on the whole been considered the most authoritative part of the *Pāñcarātra* scripture.

The five lists compared in our Synopsis are naturally of little value for chronological purposes on account of their comparatively late origin, and because all of them, except the one of *Agni Purāṇa*, have almost certainly been interfered with by later hands. The *Āgneya* list, beginning, as it does, with *Hayasīrṣa* and agreeing almost completely with the first twenty-five of the names enumerated in that *Samhitā*, must have been copied from it, from which fact it may be further deduced that the remaining names (nos. 26 to 34)¹ were not in the original *Samhitā*. Likewise in the *Viṣṇu* list the thirty-two names following the 108th are in all probability a later amplification. This would account for the fact of a *Samhitā* being mentioned in that list, to wit *Kapīñjala* (no. 123), which itself mentions the *Viṣṇu Tantra*. *Kapīñjala*, at any rate, does not claim to be one of the 108 *Samhitās*, but only an abstract containing all that is essential (*sāra*) in them. The *Pādma* list also seems to have originally consisted of 108 names only, the four added ones being possibly nos. 33 to 36 contained in the second half of *śloka* 100. For, *Īśvara Samhitā* (no. 36), as it mentions *Pādma Tantra*, and that, as we have seen, in quite a credible way, cannot well be mentioned in the latter which, for other reasons too, must be older than it. Or were there two *Īśvara Samhitās*? This hypothesis would perhaps best account for the mention

¹ Among which "*Purāṇa*" and "*Sāmānya*" are decidedly doubtful.

of an Īsvara Samhitā also in the Hayasīrṣa and Āgneya lists.¹

What are the principal subjects treated in the Samhitās?

The ideal Pāñcarātra Samhitā, like the Śaiva Āgamas, is said to consist of four "quarters" (*pāda*) teaching respectively (1) *Jñāna*, Knowledge; (2) *Yoga*, Concentration; (3) *Kriyā*, Making; and (4) *Caryā*, Doing. By Making is meant everything connected with the construction and consecration of temples and images, and by Doing, the religious and social observances (daily rites, festivals, *varṇāśrama-dharma*).² Very few Samhitās seem to have actually consisted of these four sections: most of them dealt apparently with one or two only of these subjects, neglecting the others altogether or nearly so. The proportion of interest shown for each of the four branches seems to be well illustrated by Pādma Tantra in the edition of which the Jñāna-pāda occupies 45 pages, the Yoga-pāda 11 pages, the Kriyā-pāda 215 pages, and the Caryā-pāda 376 pages. The practical part, Kriyā and Caryā, is the favourite subject, the rest being treated as a rule by way of introduction or digression. The division into Pādas is, so far as I know, observed in only two of the extant Samhitās, namely Pādma Tantra and Viṣṇutattva Samhitā. A division into five Rātras (Nights) of mixed contents (*cf.* the name Pāñcarātra) is found not only in the apocryphal Nāradiya but also in a genuine and older

¹ Ahirbudhnyā being a somewhat unwieldy word, Īsvara may have, *metri causa*, been substituted for it in those lists, but, of course, not in the Pādma list, which does contain the name Ahirbudhnyā.

² For a fuller description of these four branches see Govindācārya's article in J.R.A.S., 1911, p. 951 fl.

work, the Mahāsanat Kumāra Saṃhitā.¹ The Hayasirṣa Saṃhitā has a position of its own in this and other respects: it consists of four Kāṇḍas called, after their contents, Pratiṣṭhā, Saṃkarṣa (so), Līṅga, and Saura Kāṇḍa.² The second Kāṇḍa professes to deal with worship (*pūja*) but contains also a good deal on *pratiṣṭhā*; the third is altogether Saiyite. Finally the Pāramesvara Saṃhitā deserves mention here in that it adheres to the well-known division in Jñāna Kāṇḍa and Kriyā Kāṇḍa answering resp. to Pādas 1-2 and 3-4³; and perhaps Bhāradvāja Saṃhitā as the rare (if not unique) instance of a Saṃhitā dealing with Conduct only and especially *prapatti*.⁴

¹ The names of the Rātras of the latter are: Brahma, Siva, Indra and Ṛṣi Rātra; the fifth is not in the MS. For the former see below.—The following passage of Vihagendra Saṃhitā (I, 31—34) is also noteworthy, though it looks like a late compromise: "When the Kṛta Yuga has just appeared, by the grace of Keśava the following five, namely Ananta (the Serpent), Garuḍa, Viṣvaksena, the Skull-bearer (Siva), and Brahman, hear it (the Śāstra) in parts [as follows]: in the first night Ananta [has his questions answered], in the second night Garuḍa, in the third night Senesa, in the fourth [is answered] what has been chosen by Vedhas (Brahman), and in the fifth Rudra [is the questioner]. Thus each of these hears for himself the Religion of Faith (*śraddhā-śāstra*) in the form of a work on Knowledge, Yoga, Construction, and Conduct, consisting of one hundred thousand [ślokas]. [Hence, since the whole of it] has an extent of five lakhs [of ślokas], it is called the Pañcarātra."

² Containing resp. 42, 39, 20, and 2 paṭalas. This Saṃhitā has so far been found in Orissa only.

³ See the summary of contents in the first adhyāya. That the description of the Jñāna Kāṇḍa covers 14½ ślokas and that of the Kriyā Kāṇḍa only 3½ is, I believe, due to the author's wish to have done with the former. For the Saṃhitā, though evidently complete (see the total of ślokas given for the two Kāṇḍas together) has no other Jñāna Kāṇḍa. Therefore, the last line of the adhyāya will probably have to be interpreted thus: "I shall now [by treating the Kriyā Kāṇḍa] put forward the śāstra twofold in the manner explained; listen to me!"

⁴ This is perhaps the most widely spread of all the Saṃhitās. It has a *pariśiṣṭa* (supplement) contained in the edition, and belongs, as mentioned, to the few Saṃhitās of which a commentary is extant.

It may be supposed that the name Pāñcarātra points to five principal subjects treated in that system. So it is, indeed, understood in the apocryphal Nāradya, which says that the five kinds of *rātra* = "knowledge" are *tattva*, *mukti-prada*, *bhakti-prada*, *yaugika*, and *vaiśeṣika*, that is to say that they are concerned respectively with (1) ontology (cosmology), (2) liberation, (3) devotion, (4) yoga, and (5) the objects of sense. Though the five books of the said Samhitā accord but very imperfectly with this division, and the five Rātras of Mahāsanatkumāra Samhitā still less, and though the Nāradya as a whole can certainly not be used as a Pāñcarātra authority, the above statement may none the less rest on good tradition. In this case *rātra*, originally "night", would have come to mean — how, we do not know¹ — both a cardinal doctrine of a system as well as the chapter or work dealing with that doctrine, that is: it became synonymous with *tantra* and *samhitā*², so that Pāñcarātra would be a designation of the ancient Vaiṣṇavite system in exactly the same manner as, according to the twelfth chapter of Ahirbudhnya Samhitā, Śaṣṭi Tantra was one of the Sāṃkhya Yoga. This explanation, though perhaps at variance with the chapter just mentioned stating (in sl. 45—48) that the Pāñcarātra consists of ten cardinal teachings (*samhitās*)³, is at least not so fanciful as "the night = obscuration, of the five other systems", or "the system, cooking = destroying, the night = ignorance", or the attempts to connect that name with the five sacraments (branding, etc.) or the five daily observances (*abhiḡamana*, etc.) of the

¹ For the transition the meaning of "Thousand and one Nights" = as many stories, may perhaps be compared.

² See above p. 2.

³ See our summary of the chapter, below, last part of this book.

Pāñcarātras. However, it seems to us that the original use of the name is only connected with the first of the ten topics referred to (Bhagavat), namely the peculiar God-conception of the Pāñcarātras, and that it can be discovered in the Pāñcarātra Sattrā spoken of in Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa XIII 6. 1, which is, moreover, the earliest passage in which the word *pāñcarātra* occurs. In that passage "Puruṣa Nārāyaṇa is mentioned as having conceived the idea of a Pāñcarātra Sattrā (continued sacrifice for five days) as a means of obtaining superiority over all beings and becoming all beings"¹; and the preceding chapter (XII 3. 4) narrates in detail how He, by sacrificing Himself, actually became the whole world.² Nārāyaṇa is thus connected with, and even made the author of, the Puruṣa Sūkta³ which, together with the Sahasrasīrṣa section of Mahānārāyaṇa Upaniṣad, plays such a prominent part in the cosmological accounts and Mantra exegesis of the Pāñcarātrins.⁴ It appears, then, that the sect took its name from its central dogma which was the Pāñcarātra Sattrā of Nārāyaṇa interpreted philosophically⁵ as the fivefold self-manifestation of God by means of His Para, Vyūha, Vibhava, Antaryāmin, and Arcā forms. This would well agree with the statement of Ahirb. Samh., at the end of the eleventh adhyāya, that the Lord Himself framed out of the original Śāstra "the system (*tantra*) called Pāñcarātra describing His [fivefold] nature

¹ Bhandarkar, *loc. cit.*, p. 31; spacing-out ours.

² *Ibidem*.

³ Note also the importance attached in Ahirb. Samh. (chapter 37) to the meditation on God as a sacrifice (*yajñarūpa-dhara deva*, §1. 39).

⁴ With, or without, the help of Bhagavad-Gītā II, 69.

[known] as Para, Vyūha, Vibhava, etc.", and "that highest Will of Viṣṇu called Sudarsana through which He split into five, appearing five-mouthed."¹

To return to the question of the principal subjects treated in the Pāñcarātra, the scientific student will probably find it best to distinguish the following ten²:

- (1) Philosophy;
- (2) Linguistic occultism (*mantra-sāstra*);
- (3) Theory of magical figures (*yantra-sāstra*);
- (4) Practical magic (*māya-yoga*);
- (5) Yoga;
- (6) Temple-building (*mandira-nirmāṇa*);
- (7) Image-making (*pratiṣṭhā-vidhi*);
- (8) Domestic observances (*saṃskāra, ālmāka*);
- (9) Social rules (*varṇāśrama-dharma*);
- (10) Public festivals (*utsava*).

Each of these³, it is hoped, will in the course of time be made the subject of a monograph based on the available Sāṃhitā material as well as on such monographs (Utsavasamgrahas, etc.) as the Pāñcarātrins themselves have written. In the following, the second part of our Introduction, an outline will be attempted of the first subject only, as the one on which all the others more or less depend.

¹ The five forms are also referred to in the very first śloka of our Sāṃhitā. With the idea of Nārāyaṇa's self-sacrifice is apparently also connected the story of the "Sacrificial Lotus" (*yajña-paṇkaja*) springing from the navel of Padmanābha (Lakṣmī T. V, 22, and elsewhere).

² Which are, of course, not the same as those enumerated in adhyāya 12 of Ahirb. Sāṃh.; see our summary of the latter in the final section below.

³ And, in addition, perhaps the subject of "worship" in a general treatment combining the materials for it distributed among several of the above subjects, notably 8 and 10.

II. THE PHILOSOPHY OF THE PĀÑCARĀTRAS

THE theoretical philosophy of the Pāñcarātras is inseparably bound up with the story of creation, and can therefore hardly be treated more conveniently than in taking the latter throughout as our starting point. In doing so we shall mainly follow the Ahirbudhnya Samhitā (particularly chapters 4 to 7), but also have recourse, wherever this seems desirable, to other sources.¹

1. NIGHTS AND DAYS OF NĀRĀYAṆA

There was, and is still, a belief in India that the higher a being climbs on the ladder of existences, the quicker time passes for him, until, when he reaches Liberation, time is no longer a magnitude for him at all.² This idea is contained in the doctrine that a single day of each Brahmān or ruler of a Cosmic Egg

¹ The writer regrets keenly having had practically no access, while writing this Introduction, to the rich collections of Pāñcarātra MSS. stored up in the Adyar and Madras Libraries. Still he feels confident that the following account will not show any serious gap.—Abbreviations will be easily recognised, except perhaps “P. Prakāśa S.” which is no. 213 mentioned on p. 11 above. The edition quoted of Pīlāi Lokācārya’s *Tattvatraya* is the only existing one of the Sanskrit translation, published as no. 4 of the Caṅkhambā Sanskrit Series; while the edition used of Srinivāsadāsa’s *Yatindramata Dipikā* is No. 50 of the Anandāśrama Series. *Tattvatraya* (fourteenth century) may almost be called a collection of Pāñcarātra Sūtras, and its commentary, by Varavaramuni, is specially valuable for its copious extracts from *Viṣṇukṣena Samhitā*. All references by figures only are to Ahirbudhnya Samhitā.

² It may, after all, be found to be the same (not the opposite) view when P. Prakāśa Samhitā (III, 3 fl.) teaches that a “time-atom” (*kāla paramāṇuka*) is in Jīvaloka (cf. Gitā VII, 5; XV, 7) only 1/100th part of one on earth, in the world of the gods only 1/10,000th part, for the god Brahmān only 1/1,000,000th part, and for Lakṣmī only 1/10,000,000th part, while Viṣṇu’s own time-atom is infinitely small.

(*brahmāṇḍa*)¹ comprises no less than 432,000,000 years of men. When the day is over, all forms are dissolved by fire, etc., but not so the Tattvas (elements and organs) of which these consist, nor the Cosmic Egg as such. This dissolution is called a Minor or Occasional Dissolution (*avāntara-pralaya*, *naimittika-pralaya*). It is followed² by the "Night of Brahman", of equal length as his day, in which the Egg hibernates as it were. This process is repeated 360×100 times, after which the life of Brahman (*brahmāyus*) comes to a close by the Great or Total Dissolution (*mahā-pralaya*, *prākṛta-pralaya*) in which all the Cosmic Eggs, including the forces working in them, are completely dissolved or "unified". The Night following it is of the same duration as that of the life of Brahman, and is followed by another Day similar to the former, and so on. These longest Days and Nights are called, in the Pāñcarātra, Days and Nights of the Puruṣa, the Highest Self, the Lord, etc. For the Puruṣa's life, says one text, there exists no measure³. But though infinite as to time⁴, He "accepts" (*aṅgī-karoti*) the period called Para (that is, the life-period of a Brahman) as His "day"; and though exempt from being measured

¹ "Solar system" is a somewhat misleading translation, because a Brahmanḍa, though believed to possess but one sun, comprises the whole starry host visible to us.

² *Pralaya*, as the name says, is the stage in which things are dissolving, and not the much longer one in which they remain dissolved. The occasional employment of the name for the two stages together must be regarded as a misuse, at least from the Pāñcarātra point of view, because, if Primary Creation takes place during the last part of the Night (see below, next paragraph) and the Day and Night are of equal length, *Pralaya* belongs to the Day, not to the Night.

³ *Tasya nāyur-mānam vidhīyate*, P. Prakāsa Saṃhitā I, 3, 43, repeated 58.

⁴ *Kālato'nanti*, *ibid.* I, 3, 55.

by nights, etc., He "does the work of the night (*rātrītvēna cavati*) by causing Brahman¹ and the rest to fall asleep".² Our Saṃhitā illustrates the Days and Nights of the Lord by an image of dazzling beauty: during the Day the universe is like a sky sprinkled all over with cirrus clouds — the Brāhmic Eggs, of which there are koṭi-arbudās of koṭi-oghas of koṭis (an unimaginably high number); while during the Night it resembles a sky without a single cloud.³

2. HIGHER, OR "PURE" CREATION

(*Evolution, First Stage.*)

In the eighth and last part of the Cosmic Night (*pauruṣī rātri*)⁴ the great Śakti of Viṣṇu, awakened as it were by His command⁵, "opens her eyes". This *unmeṣa* "opening of the eyes", says Ahirb. Saṃh., is like the appearance of a lightning in the sky. And it means that the Śakti, which was so far indistinguishable from the "windless atmosphere" or "motionless ocean" of the Absolute, existing only as it were in a form of "darkness" or "emptiness", suddenly, "by some independent resolve" (*kasmācīt svātantryat*), flashes up, with an infinitely small part of herself, in her dual aspect of *kriyā* (acting) and *bhūti* (becoming), that is Force and Matter.⁶

¹ Who, after his "death", belongs to the liberated.

² *Ibid.* I, 3. 55-57.

³ Ahirbudhnyā Saṃhitā IX, 16, 14, 38.

⁴ "The eighth part of the Pralaya is called *layāntima*", P. Prakāśa S. I, 1. 51; cf. I, 3. 42, 57.

⁵ *Ibid.*, I, 1. 53.

⁶ XIV, 7-8: *Tasyāḥ koṭyārbudāṃśena śaktiḥ dve*, etc.; so VIII, 36, and III, 27-28. Cf. Lakṣmī Tantra IV, 4. The Bhūti Śakti, as will be seen, includes what we call soul.

(Here it will first be necessary to remark that, in spite of frequent assurances as to the real identity of Lakṣmī and Viṣṇu, the two are actually regarded as distinct: even in Pralaya they do not completely coalesce but become only "as it were" a single principle)(4. 78), the Lakṣmī eventually emerging from the Great Night being the old Lakṣmī, not a new one. The mutual relation of the two is declared to be one of inseparable connection or inherence¹ like that of an attribute and its bearer (*dharma*, *dharmin*), existence and that which exists (*bhāva*, *bhavat*), I-ness and I (*ahantā*, *aham*), moonshine and moon, sunshine and sun.² Still, the dualism is, strictly speaking, a makeshift for preserving the transcendent character of Viṣṇu: Lakṣmī alone acts, but everything she does is the mere expression of the Lord's wishes.

The Kriyā Śakti is "the Sudarsana portion of Lakṣmī"³; for it is identical with Viṣṇu's "Will-to-be" symbolised by the Sudarsana or discus. Being independent of space and time 'it is called "undivided" (*niṣkala*), in contradistinction to the Bhūti Śakti which is divided in many ways⁴ and is but a "myriadth part (*koṭi-amsa*) of the Śakti"⁵, that is: an infinitely less

¹ *Avinābhāva, samanvaya*; Lakṣmī Tantra II, 17.

² See chapter 4 of *Ahimb. Samh.* and Lakṣmī Tantra II, 11 fl.

³ *Lakṣmīyāḥ sandarśanī kalā*, III, 45; cf. V, 12.

⁴ LIX, 57: *deśakūlādīni vyāptis tasya* [*Sudarśanasya*], which, however, is perhaps not meant to exclude plurality; see below, section 6 of this part of our Introduction.

⁵ *Nānābhedavati*, XIV, 9; cf. V, 9-11. Kriyā is related to Bhūti as the thread to the pearls, the pin to the leaves; see below our résumé of *adhyāya* 8.

⁶ Which elsewhere is said of the two Śaktis together: see note on p. 29.

powerful manifestation than the Kriyā Śakti.¹ As the Sudarsana is the instrument of Viṣṇu, we may say that Viṣṇu, Kriyā Śakti and Bhūti Śakti are respectively the *causa efficiens*, *causa instrumentalis*, and *causa materialis* of the world. However, the transcendent aspect of Viṣṇu (Param Brāhma) remains so completely in the background in the Pāñcarātra that we are practically only concerned with the one force (Lakṣmī) which, as Bhūti, appears as the universe, and, as Kriyā, vitalises and governs it.² Accordingly, the Kriyā Śakti is called: "Viṣṇu's resolve consisting of life" (*prāṇa-rūpo Viṣṇoḥ samkalpaḥ*); "that which keeps existence a-going" (*bhūti-parivartaka*), "makes becoming possible" (*bhūtim sambhāvayati*); "joins", at the time of creation, Primordial Matter to the faculty of evolving, Time to the "work of counting", and the soul to the "effort for enjoyment"; "preserves" all of these as long as the world lasts; and "withdraws" the said faculties at the time of Dissolution. "Just as a fire or a cloud is kept moving by the wind, even so is the Vibhūti part [of Śakti] impelled³ by the Sudarsana."

The first phase of the manifestation of Lakṣmī is called *suddhasṛṣṭi*, "pure creation", or *guṇōnmeṣadasā*, that is the stage (following the Waveless Stage) in which the attributes (*guṇa*) of God make their appearance. These

¹ For the mutual relation of the two Saktis the following passages should be compared: III, 44-45; V, 7-8; LIX, 55-57.

² This accounts for the remarkable fact that the Kashmirian philosopher Kṣemarāja has defined the Pāñcarātra as the system teaching the identity of God and Nature, that is to say pantheism (*parā prakṛtir bhagavān Vāsudevaḥ, tad-viṣphuliṅga-prāyā eva jīvāḥ—iti Pāñcarātrāḥ parasyāḥ prakṛteḥ pariṇāmābhyupagamād Avyakte evābhī-niṣṭāḥ*; *Pratyabhijñāhṛdaya*, Srinagar ed. p. 17).

³ Or: "made to dance" (*pranartiyate*), XIV, 8, and elsewhere.

Guṇas are *aprākṛta* "not belonging to Nature" — for Nature does not exist as yet — and have consequently nothing to do with the three well-known Guṇas (Sattva, Rajas, Tamas); that is to say: the old dogma that God is necessarily "free from [the three] Guṇas" (*nirguṇa*) does not exclude His possessing the six ideal Guṇas which, on the contrary, must be ascribed to Him, because without them there could be no Pure Creation, and, all further evolution depending thereon, no creation at all. However, the evolution of the Guṇas does not in any way affect the being or essence of God, it being merely concerned with His "becoming" or "manifestation", that is: His Śakti: "Through the three pairs of what are called the Six Guṇas (*ṣaḍguṇya*), to wit: Knowledge, Lordship, Power, etc., does the Pure Creation [or first stage] of [His] becoming take place."¹

Now, the six Guṇas are described as follows:

The first Guṇa is *jñāna*, "knowledge", defined as "non-inert, self-conscious, eternal, all-penetrating", that is: omniscience. "It is both the essence and an attribute of Brāhman", for which reason the remaining five Guṇas are occasionally called "attributes of *jñāna*"². *Jñāna* is, of course, also the essence of Lakṣmī.³

¹ V, 16; cf. V, 15 and VI, 6; *Bhūti* and *vibhūti* are in these passages, like *bhāva* elsewhere (see above p. 30), used in contradistinction to *bhavat*, and not in the sense of the Bhūti Śakti. For the latter, like the Kriyā Śakti, is connected with three Guṇas only (see below), while in the passages concerned the appearance of all the six Guṇas is referred to.

² Or "channels of *jñāna*" (*jñānasya sṛtaṅgaḥ*), Lakṣmī Tantra II, 35. Yāmunācārya, the teacher of Rāmānuja, has tried to justify, philosophically, this Pāñcarātra concept of *jñāna*. A thing, he says, may be both substance and attribute: *āśrayād anyato vṛtter, āśrayena samanvayāt*, which he illustrates by means of the flame (substance) and the light it sheds (attribute).

³ Lakṣmī Tantra II, 25, etc.

The second¹ Guṇa is *aiśvarya* "lordship", that is "activity based on independence", "unimpeded activity".² According to Lakṣmī Tantra (II, 28) this is identical with what is called *icchā* "will" in other Tattvasāstras.

The third Guṇa is *śakti* "ability, potency", namely to become the material cause of the world (*jagat-prakṛti-bhāva*). It is elsewhere³ defined as *aghafitaḥkṛtāna* "accomplishing the non-accomplished", that is to say, being able to produce something the cause of which cannot be accounted for by empirical methods.

The fourth Guṇa is *bala* "strength" defined as "absence of fatigue" (*śrama-hāni*), or "fatiguelessness in connection with the production of the world", or "power to sustain all things", "sustaining-power" (*dhāraṇa-sāmarthyā*).

The fifth Guṇa is *virya* "virility", that is "unaffectedness (changelessness, *vikāra-viraha*) in spite of being the material cause". This is a condition, says Lakṣmī Tantra (2. 31), not found within the world, where "milk quickly loses its nature when curds come into existence".

The sixth and last Guṇa is *tejas* "splendour, might", which is said to mean "self-sufficiency" (*sahakāri-anapekṣā*) and "power to defeat others" (*parābbhāvana-sāmarthyā*). The latter definition is in Lakṣmī Tantra (2. 34), which adds that some philosophers connect (*yojayanti*) *tejas* with *aiśvarya*.

The six Guṇas are the material, or instruments, as it were, of Pure Creation, (1) in their totality, and (2)

¹ The order found on p. 18 of our edition is not the usual one.

² "Independence, in creating the universe, of any other cause", Lakṣmī Tantra, IV, 9.

³ Varavaramuni's comm. on Tattvatraya, ed. p. 94.

by pairs, in the following way: the Guṇas, as connected partly with the Bhūti and partly with the Kriyā Śakti (5. 7), are regarded as falling into two sets, namely Guṇas 1 to 3, and Guṇas 4 to 6, called respectively *visrama-bhūmayah* "stages of rest" and *śrama-bhūmayah* "stages of effort"¹; and the corresponding Guṇas of each set (1 and 4, 2 and 5, 3 and 6) join to form a pair connected with some special divine manifestation, as will be explained presently.

In their totality the Guṇas make up the body of Vāsudeva, the highest personal god², as well as that of his consort Lakṣmī, in the way that these two are constantly seen by the free souls inhabiting the Highest Space.³ It is mainly in this form, to wit as a person qualified by the six Guṇas and distinct from his Śakti, that God is called Vāsudeva (5. 29).

The apparition of the pairs denotes the beginning of that process of emanation which has been well defined as "a process which, while bringing the product into existence, leaves the source of the product unchanged".⁴ This very ancient conception⁵ is commonly (though perhaps not correctly) illustrated by the image of the light emanating from a source such as the sun, which accounts for the Sanskrit term for it, namely, *ālhāsa*, "shining out".⁶

¹ These names are not in Ahirb. Samh.; see, however, Lakṣmī Tantra IV, 24; II, 46-47; III, 4. Cf. also what is said below on the different condition of the three Vyūhas during and after Pure Creation.

² *Sūtaguṇya-vigrahaṃ devam* (VI, 25). The six Guṇas exist also before creation, but without being active (V, 3).

³ See below.

⁴ Chatterji, *Kashmir Shaivism*, p. 59.

⁵ Cf. the *Śānti Pūrāṇa oḍah*, etc., at the beginning of *Īśāvāsya* and other Upaniṣads.

⁶ Not found in the Samhitās, in so far as known to us.

The Pāñcarātra teaches a chain, as it were, of emanations; each emanation, except the first, originating from an anterior emanation; and thus the favourite image of the process has, with the Pāñcarātrins, become that of one flame proceeding from another flame.¹ Any production, up to the formation of the Egg, is imagined as taking place in this way.

The first three (or, including Vāsudeva, four) beings thus coming into existence are called Vyūhas. This word is a combination of the root *ūh* "to shove" and the preposition *vi* "asunder" and apparently refers to the "shoving asunder" of the six Guṇas into three pairs.² This, however, does not mean that each Vyūha has only its two respective Guṇas, but, as is repeatedly emphasized, each Vyūha is Viṣṇu Himself with His six Guṇas, of which, however, two only, in each case, become manifest. Abiding by the image, we may say that each new flame has for its fuel another pair of Guṇas.

The Vyūhas are named after the elder brother, the son, and the grandson, respectively, of Kṛṣṇa, namely Saṃkarṣaṇa (or Balarāma, Baladeva), Pradyumna, and Aniruddha; and the pairs of Guṇas connected with these are respectively: *jñāna* and *bala*; *aśvarya* and *vīrya*; *śakti* and *tejas*.

Each Vyūha, after having appeared, remains inactive (*avyāpṛta*) for a period of 100 years of his own (*kāmya*), or 1,600 human years; that is to say: the evolution of Pure Creation, up to its end or up to the point when Aniruddha "together with the two earlier [Śaktis, namely those of Saṃkarṣaṇa and Pradyumna] engages

¹ See for instance Pādma Tantra I, 2. 21.

² *Cāturātmya-sthitiḥ Viṣṇor guṇavyalīkarūbhavā* (V, 21).

in creation" (5.40), takes $3 \times 1,600 = 4,800$ human years.¹

The Śaktis of the Vyūhas, hinted at in our Saṃhitā, are mentioned by name in a number of later Saṃhitās. Mahāsanatkumāra Saṃhitā, for instance, teaches² that Vāsudeva creates from his mind the white goddess Śānti, and together with her Saṃkarṣaṇa=Śiva; then from the left side of the latter is born the red goddess Śrī, whose son is Pradyumna=Brahmān; the latter, again, creates the yellow Sarasvatī and together with her Aniruddha=Puruṣottama, whose Śakti becomes the black Rati who is the threefold Māyā Kosa to be mentioned below.³

Each Vyūha has two activities, a creative and a moral one, that is, one connected with the origin of beings and another one connected with their ethical progress; and each of these activities of a Vyūha is said to be mediated by one of his two Guṇas.* For this reason, that is to say because the creative activities necessarily precede the moral ones, it is assumed⁴ that during the

¹ Which is, of course, also the length of the Pralaya of Pure Creation; see our Saṃhitā pp. 35-36.

² Indrarātra, sixth adhyāya; cf. Lakṣmi Tantra, sixth adhyāya.

³ It is important to bear in mind that these four couples are all of them *bahir-aṇḍa-ja* "born outside the [Mundane] Egg" and therefore not identical with the prakṛtic Gods, Śiva, etc., who belong to Gross Creation (described below, section 5). It is impossible otherwise to understand certain accounts such as the following one of Lakṣmi Tantra, fifth adhyāya: Brahman and Sarasvatī create an egg (15), Viṣṇu and Lakṣmi lie down in it (20), from Viṣṇu's navel there springs the Sacrificial Lotus (21), and from the Lotus are born Brahman and Sarasvatī (27-28).

⁴ Viṣvaṁsena Saṃhitā, in Tattvatraya ed. pp. 125-127; Lakṣmi Tantra IV, 8-20. The dogma of Guṇas 1 to 3 being connected with creation only, and Guṇas 4 to 6 with moral progress only, is not quite adhered to in several Saṃhitās, it being somewhat hard to believe that Saṃkarṣaṇa should create by means of Knowledge but teach philosophy by means of Strength; that Pradyumna should teach ethics by means of Virility rather than Ability, etc.

⁵ Lakṣmi Tantra IV, 8, fl.; IV, 24, and II, 47.

period of Pure Creation those Guṇas only are actually manifest, though as mere "stages of rest" (*visṛama-bhūmayah*), which become active at the beginning of Non-pure Creation, while the "stages of effort" (*śrama-bhūmayah*) can come forth only after all the Tattvas are created.

The creative activities of the Vyūhas come into play the one after the other, marking out in the following way three successive stages in the creation of the "non-pure" universe.

With Saṃkarṣaṇa Non-pure Creation becomes dimly manifest in an embryonic condition, as a chaotic mass without internal distinctions. This is expressed in the Saṃhitās by the grotesque but often repeated statement that Saṃkarṣaṇa "carries the whole universe like a *tilakāḷaka* (dark spot under the skin)", which apparently signifies that the world he carries is still so to speak under the surface, existing only in a germinal condition¹, as a minute part, as it were, of his body. The Guṇa with which Saṃkarṣaṇa performs his cosmic function, is sometimes stated to be *jñāna*, but as a rule *bala*. His name Baladeva (the strong God) is also connected with this aspect of his, and so he is often described by means of such compounds as *asṛṣa-bhuvana-adhara* "support of the whole world".

Through Pradyumna the duality of Puruṣa and Prakṛti makes its first appearance²: he is said to perform, by means of his Guṇa *aiśvarya*, both the *mānava sarga* and the *vaidya sarga*³, that is, the creation of the

¹ As *maśṇo vikāraḥ*, Lakṣmī Tantra VI, 7.

² Lakṣmī Tantra VI, 10: *bhoktr-bhogyā-samaṣṭis tu nīlānī tatva tiṣṭhati*.

³ LV, 17; LIX, 31 (Ahrb. S.).

Group Soul and of Primordial Matter *plus* Subtle Time.¹

Aniruddha, finally, "gives opportunity for growth to body and soul" (52. s1-s2) by taking over the creation of Pradyumna and by evolving out of it Manifest Matter (*vyakta*) with Gross Time, and, on the other hand, the so-called Mixed Creation (*misra-sṛṣṭi*)² of souls; that is to say: he becomes, through his Guṇa *śakti*, ruler of the Cosmic Eggs and their contents.

The cosmic activities of the Vyūhas are also³ — not, however, as it seems, in the oldest Saṃhitās — stated to be the creation, preservation, and destruction of the universe or of the Cosmic Egg. These statements are of a somewhat contradictory nature. Lakṣmi Tantra, for instance, teaches (4. 11, 19, 20) that the cosmic function of Aniruddha is creating, that of Pradyumna preserving, and that of Saṃkarṣaṇa destroying; while, according to Viṣvaksena Saṃhitā (*loc. cit.*, p. 125 fl.), Saṃkarṣaṇa "by means of his Guṇa *bala* takes away all this", Pradyumna "by means of his Guṇa *aiśvarya* creates that [totality of] moveable and immoveable [beings]", and Aniruddha "by means of his [Guṇa] *śakti* supports and protects this whole world, the infinite Egg".⁴

The ethical activities of the three Vyūhas are declared to be⁵ the teaching (1) by Saṃkarṣaṇa,

¹ VI, 9 fl., and 12. For particulars see the next section of this Introduction.

² Viṣvaksena Saṃhitā, *loc. cit.*, p. 129.

³ Cf. the identification of Saṃkarṣaṇa and Śiva, etc., mentioned above p. 36.

⁴ In Ahirbudhnyā Saṃhitā also, Aniruddha is occasionally called "protector", "overseer", and the like (see, for instance, LIII, 53; LV, 42), but elsewhere (LV, 21; etc.) it ascribes to him all the three activities.

⁵ See especially V, 21-24; Viṣvaksena Saṃhitā, *loc. cit.*, pp. 125-127; Lakṣmi Tantra IV, 15-20.

of the *sāstra* or "theory", namely, of monotheism (*ekāntika-mārga*); (2) by Pradyumna, of its translation into practice (*tat-kriyā*); and (3) by Aniruddha, of the gain resulting from such practice (*kriyā-phala*), to wit Liberation¹; the instruments applied being respectively the Guṇas *jñāna* or *balā*², *vīrya*, and *tejas*. According to Viṣvaksena Samhitā (Tattvatraya ed. p. 125) the teaching of Saṅkaraṣaṇa is not confined to the Pāñcarātra, but includes the Veda (that is, of course, its esoteric portions). The same source says (*loc. cit.*, pp. 126, 127) that Pradyumna "introduces all religious rites [to be performed by a Pāñcarātrin]", while Aniruddha "makes known the whole truth about the [ultimate goal of] the soul".

The Vyūhas, however, have, or at least had originally, still another aspect about which something must be said here. In the Nārāyaṇīya section of the Śānti Parvan of the Mahābhārata, in Śaṅkara's commentary on Vedānta Sūtra II, 2. 42 fl., and elsewhere, it is stated that Saṅkaraṣaṇa represents the individual soul (*jīvātman*), Pradyumna the Manas, and Aniruddha the Ahaṁkāra. This doctrine seems to be gradually disappearing from the Samhitā literature, owing, we believe, to the difficulty of connecting the Ahaṁkāra with such an absolutely pure being as a Vyūha. We have come across only a single passage which openly endeavours to explain the teaching in its entirety, namely, Lakṣmī Tantra 6. 9-14. The idea here expressed is that Saṅkaraṣaṇa, etc., are, *as it were*, the soul (*jīva*), the mind (*buddhā*, *manas*), and the organ of self-assertion of the "playing" (that is, creating)

¹ *Bhuvana-abhaya-da Vairuṇṭha*, LV, 43, and 53.

² The former according to V, 21-22 (Ahirb. Samhitā) and Viṣv. S., *loc. cit.*, p. 125; the latter according to Lakṣmī Tantra IV, 15.

Vāsudeva. But the original meaning of the doctrine must have been rather that the Vyūhas are something like tutelar deities of the said principles. This is, indeed, the teaching of Viṣvaksena Saṃhitā, which declares (*loc. cit.*, pp. 125 fl.) about Saṃkarṣaṇa: "He is acting as the superintendent of all the souls"¹, and about Pradyumna: "He is the superintendent of the mind (*manas*); he is declared to be of the nature of the mind (*manomaya*)."² About Aniruddha no similar statement is made³; still his being declared to be the creator of the *misra-varga*, that is, of the souls dominated by Rajas and Tamas, shows that he was actually looked at, by the author of that Saṃhitā, as the *adhīsthātṛ* of the Ahaṃkāra. In the same Saṃhitā the superintendence of Saṃkarṣaṇa is described as follows: "Then Saṃkarṣaṇa, the Divine Lord, wishing to create the world, made himself superintendent of the Principle of Life and severed it from Nature."⁴ And, after having done so⁴, the God obtained the state of Pradyumna." In Ahirbudhnya Saṃhitā, as we have seen, the duality of Soul and Nature appears first with Pradyumna. It is he, not Saṃkarṣaṇa, who is called there the "Lord of the souls" (53. 48), while Aniruddha is indeed called superintendent, not however of the Ahaṃkāra but of each of the three Guṇas (6. 28 fl.) or of the whole manifested world (see above p. 38, note 4). But though there is nothing in our Saṃhitā, in so far as the account of

¹ *So'yaṃ samasta-jīvānām adhīsthārtayā sthitaḥ.*

² For which reason it is also missing in Tattvatraya in the aphorism on the activities of Aniruddha (ed. p. 127).

³ *Jīva-tattvam adhīsthāya prakṛtes tu vivicya tat*, which the commentary explains thus: "He made himself superintendent of the Principle of Life, which was absorbed in Nature, and on the strength of that superintendence severed it from Nature so as to render the appearance of names and forms possible."

⁴ *Viveka=vivecanam.*

creation is concerned, that would make the Vyūhas appear as tutelar deities in the sense mentioned; there are indeed a few passages referring to individual life which could be so interpreted. For example, we read (53. 40 fl.) of Pradyumna that he is a source of joy by his purifying influence on *vidyā* (= *buddhi*), and again that he is the internal ruler (*antar-vijñānuḥ*) of the organ of knowledge (*jñānendriya*); of Saṅkarṣaṇa (59. 23, 25 fl.) that he causes the soul to flee from the world and reach Liberation by making it obtain correct knowledge; and of Aniruddha (59. 34): "He bestows upon men the fruits [of their actions]", — which fruits (= results) here undoubtedly include, or even exclusively denote, those earned by selfish actions (good and bad).

From each Vyūha descend¹ three Sub-Vyūhas (*vyūhāntara*, *mūrtiyāntara*), namely, (1) from Vāsudeva: Kesava, Nārāyaṇa, and Mādhava; (2) from Saṅkarṣaṇa: Govinda, Viṣṇu, and Madhusūdana; (3) from Pradyumna: Trivikrama, Vāmana, and Śrīdhara; and (4) from Aniruddha: Hṛṣīkeśa, Padmanābha, and Dāmodara. These twelve are the "Lords of the months"², that is the tutelar deities (*nāḥidāvatn*) of the twelve months and the twelve suns³, and as such play an important part in diagrams (*yantras*), etc.⁴ They are usually represented, for the purpose of meditation: Kesava as shining like gold and bearing four discuses, Nārāyaṇa as dark (like a blue lotus) and bearing four conches, Mādhava as shining like a gem (sapphire) and bearing four clubs, etc.⁵; and they are said to protect the

¹ *Avalīrṇāḥ*, says Yat. Dip. ed. p. 85.

² *Māsādhipāḥ*, Mahāsanat Kumāra S. III, 6, 33.

³ That is, the sun in the twelve months of the year; cf. the *ṛtu-calpa*, VIII, 47b fl. of Ahirb. Saṃh., further Yat. Dip. ed. p. 85.

⁴ V, 49; VIII, 49; XXVI, 33 fl.

⁵ Yat. Dip., *loc. cit.*, to be compared with the fuller (and slightly different) description in adhy. XXVI of our Saṃhitā.

devotee's body if represented on the same (forehead, etc.) by certain painted vertical lines (*śrīdhvamanḍra*).

Another set of twelve Vidyasvaras¹ descending from the Vyūhas is mentioned in a number of texts² and derived in Pādma Tantra I, 2. 20 fl. in the following way: from the Vyūha Vāsudeva springs another Vāsudeva, from the latter Puruṣottama, and from him Janārdana; similarly from Saṃkarṣaṇa another Saṃkarṣaṇa, Adhokṣaja, and Upendra; and from Aniruddha another Aniruddha, Acyuta, and Kṛṣṇa. These twelve are enumerated after the twelve Sub-Vyūhas and called, together with the latter, "the twenty-four forms" (*caturvīṃśati-mūrtayaḥ*).

To Pure Creation further belong the so-called Vibhavas (manifestations) or Avatāras (descents), that is incarnations of God or His Vyūhas or Sub-Vyūhas or angels (see below) among this or that class of terrestrial beings.³ The principal Vibhavas are, according to Ahirbudhnyā Saṃhitā (5. 50 fl.; cf. 56. 2 fl.), the following thirty-nine:

- | | | |
|-------------------|----------------------|------------------------|
| 1. Padmanābha. | 14. Ekārjavarasāyin. | 27. Nyagrodhasāyin. |
| 2. Dhruva. | 15. Kamaṭhesvara. | 28. Kkaśrīgutaṇu. |
| 3. Ananta. | 16. Varāha. | 29. Vāmanadola. |
| 4. Saktyātman. | 17. Nārasimha. | 30. Trivikrama. |
| 5. Madhusūdana. | 18. Piyūṣāharaṇa. | 31. Nara. |
| 6. Vidyādhiveya. | 19. Śrīpati. | 32. Nārāyaṇa. |
| 7. Kapila. | 20. Kāntātman. | 33. Hari. |
| 8. Viśvarūpa. | 21. Rāhuji. | 34. Kṛṣṇa. |
| 9. Vihāgama. | 22. Kālanemighna. | 35. Paraśurāma. |
| 10. Kroḍātman. | 23. Pārijātabara. | 36. Rāma Dhanur-dhara. |
| 11. Baḍabāvaktra. | 24. Lokanātha. | 37. Vedavid. |
| 12. Dharma. | 25. Śāntātman. | 38. Kalki. |
| 13. Vāgīśvara. | 26. Dattātreyā. | 39. Pātālānyana. |

¹ This term in Mahāsanatkuṃāra S. III, 3, 34.

² See for example Vihagendra S. II, 18, and the passage mentioned in the preceding note.

³ *Vibhavo nīma tat-tat-sajātīya-rūpeṣ'āvirbhāvali*, Yat. Dīp. ed. p. 86.

This list has been reproduced almost exactly from the ninth pariccheda of Sāttvata Saṃhitā (ed. pp. 79-80); and to that work we are, indeed, referred by our Saṃhitā (5. 57 fl.) for a comprehensive description of the origin, etc., of those Vibhavas. However, the description, though it is actually found there, covering over 160 slokas of the twelfth pariccheda (ed. pp. 97-109), does not, apart from some hints, deal with the origin of the Vibhavas, but only with their form and activity as objects of meditation. Still less can be gathered from the twenty-third pariccheda of the same Saṃhitā and the fifty-sixth adhyāya of the Ahirbudhnyā, where the thirty-nine Vibhavas are once more reviewed in connection with certain Mantras. We must, then, try to identify the names without any direct help, which, however, as will be seen, is not very difficult.

We shall naturally begin by picking out the ten Avatāras enumerated in the Nārāyaṇīya section of the Sānti Parvan, which, for obvious reasons, must be expected to be included in our list. They are nos. 9 (=Haṃsa), 15 (=Kūrma), 28 (=Matsya), 16, 17, 29, 35, 36, 37, and 38.

Four of the others show Viṣṇu under different aspects at the beginning of creation and after Pralaya respectively, namely: (14) as sleeping, with Lakṣmī, on the primeval waters¹; (1) as growing from His navel the lotus from which Brahman is to spring; (27) as the boy floating on the Nyagrodha branch, in whose mouth Mārkaṇḍeya discovered the dissolved universe²; and (39) as the "Lord of the cataclysmic fire", clad in a

¹ Sāttvata S. XII, 66: *nīṣaṇṇaṃ bhogīśvryāyām*; Lakṣmī T. V, 21: *Padmayā saha vidyayā apsu susūyanaṃ cakre*.

² Referring to the story related in Vana Parvan, 188 fl.

flaming robe, waited upon by Lakṣmī, Cintā, Nidrā, and Puṣṭi.¹

Again, there are four other Avatāras who rather seem to belong together and therefore, says Sāttvata Saṃhitā (12. 130), may be meditated upon either collectively or singly, namely nos. 31 to 34 (including one already mentioned) who are Viṣṇu appearing as the four sons of Dharma and Ahimsā.² They are described, in Sāttvata S. (12. 130—145), as four ascetics clad in deer-skin, etc., the one reciting Mantras, the second absorbed in meditation, the third teaching meritorious works, and the fourth performing austerities.

Then there are four (including two already mentioned), to wit nos. 1, 5, 29, and 30, who are identical in name, and possibly in some other respect, with four of the twelve Sub-Vyūhas. Two of these, namely Vāmana and Trivikrama, are, according to our sources, merely the two opposite aspects of the well-known Vāmana Avatāra, that is Viṣṇu as the very small one (*hṛt-sṭha*) and the all-pervading one (*sarva-vyāpīn, trailokya-pūraka*)³; while no. 5 refers, of course, to Viṣṇu's victory over the demon Madhu.⁴

Of the rest some are mentioned as Avatāras in the Purāṇa literature, while others are apparently not known in it as such, or altogether unknown.

No. 3, Ananta, is not the serpent Śeṣa but Balarāma, the brother of Kṛṣṇa.⁵ In Pādma Tantra (I, 2. 52) he

¹ Sāttvata S. XII, 165 fl.

² Nārāyaṇīya, opening chapter; see Bhandarkar, *Vaiṣṇavism*, etc. (E. I. A. R. vol. III, part 6), pp. 32-33. It is clear that this Kṛṣṇa is not exactly identical with the well-known one.

³ Cf. Taitt. Up. : *aṇor apīyān mahato mahīyān*, etc.

⁴ Or rather the demons Madhu and Kaiṭabha; see chapter 41 of Ahirbudhnyā Saṃhitā.

⁵ Who is sometimes regarded as an incarnation of Śeṣa rather than of Viṣṇu Himself.

is inserted after Parasurāma as the eighth of the ten Avatāras instead of the first (Hamsa) who is omitted. No. 7, Kapila, is, according to our Saṃhitā (56. 31), the Sāṃkhya philosopher, and he is evidently the same as Kapila the teacher of the Nāga kings referred to elsewhere.¹ No. 10, Kroḍātman, can be none else, to judge from Sāttvata S. 12. 45 fl., than Viṣṇu as the Yajña-varāha or Yajña-sūkara, — a particular aspect of the Boar incarnation. The description, in 56. 35-36,² of no. 24, Lokanātha, points to Manu Vaivasvata who was saved from the deluge by Brahmān as a fish and made the [secondary] creator of all living beings. No. 20, Kāntātman, is described in Sāttvata S. (12. 35 fl.) as a beautiful youth with "eyes unsteady by love", etc., that is to say as Pradyumna, or Kāma reborn (after his destruction by Śiva) as the son of Kṛṣṇa. But in Ahirbudhnya S. (56. 8) he has the epithet *amṛta-dhāraka* "carrying nectar" which seems rather to point to Dhanvantari, the physician of the gods, or to Dadhibhakta³. No. 26, Dattātreyā, is the well-known sage, son of Atri and Anasūyā. No. 37, Vedavid, is, according to Sāttvata S. (12. 154 fl.), the famous Veda-Vyāsa. All of these are among the twenty-two Avatāras enumerated in the Bhāgavata Purāṇa (I, 3), supposing that Kroḍātman may be identified with Yajña, Kāntātman with Dhanvantari, and Lokanātha with Puruṣa (the Male or Progenitor). The following are also Purāṇic: Dhruva (No. 2), the Ṛṣi and polar star, celebrated, in Sāttvata S. 9. 105, as the bearer

¹ Pādma Tantra I, 1. 23 fl.; Viṣṇuṭilaka II, 170 fl.; etc.

² Note especially *vairiṇa* and *satya-vrata*.

³ See below, note 3, on no. 18, next page.

of the Ādhāra Sakti¹; Vāgīśvara (no. 13), who is Hayasīrṣa or Hayagrīva; and Śāntātman (no. 25), if he is, as may be supposed, either Sanatkumāra (Sanaka) or Nārada as the expounder of the Sāttvata system.²

Saktyātman (no. 4) is Viṣṇu as *icchā-rūpa-dhara* (Sāttvata S. 12. 9), that is, assuming the particular form required for pleasing some devotee. Vidyāhideva, "the Lord of Virāj", is the four-faced Brahmān. No. 8 is Viṣṇu in the form in which He appears to Arjuna in the famous Viśvarūpa Adhyāya (11) of the Bhagavad-Gītā. No. 11 is Aurva. No. 12 is Viṣṇu as *dharma* personified. No. 18, also called Amṛtāharaṇa, is Viṣṇu as the restorer of immortality to the gods.³ No. 19 is Viṣṇu as the husband of Lakṣmī (who threw herself into His arms when she emerged from the ocean). Nos. 21 and 22 are Viṣṇu conquering respectively Rāhu and Kālanemi. No. 23, finally, is Kṛṣṇa wresting from Indra the celestial tree.

The enumeration of exactly thirty-nine Avatāras, and the insistence upon this number also in the *mantroddhāru* in both the Saṃhitās concerned, seems to prove that the number is meant to be exhaustive. This impression is not removed by Varavaramuni's statement, in his commentary on Tattvatraya (ed. p. 135),

¹ Cf. Ahirbudhnyā Saṃhitā, adhy. VIII, 34 fl., where, however, the term has a much wider sense.

² The only description of Śāntātman is in Sāttvata S. XII, 110: "Having a mind full of compassion, carrying the conch and lotus in his hands, showing the threefold path of knowledge, renunciation, and virtuous deeds."

³ Cf. the story of the churning of the ocean. The epithet would also fit Dadhibhakta to whom Indra is said to owe the Amṛta, and who is mentioned among the chief Avatāras in Viśvakṣena S., loc. cit., p. 135 (*Dadhibhaktas ca deveṣo darvi-hasto 'mrta-pradaḥ*). Amṛtāharaṇa is, thirdly, an epithet of Garuḍa as the stealer of Amṛta.

that the real number is only thirty-six, because Kapila, Dattātreyā, and Paragurāma are only secondary Avatāras.¹ For there are more "secondary Avatāras" among the thirty-nine as well as outside their number.²

The second point to be emphasized in connection with this list is that it occurs in one of the very oldest Samhitās (Sāttvata) and therefore may be older than the smaller lists found in later Samhitās and older even than the Mahābhārata list mentioned above. Even the smaller Nārāyaṇīya list (of only six names)³ appears from this view-point not to be the oldest list but merely a selection; for it is inconceivable that, for instance, the ancient and famous story of the Fish should have been overlooked by those who made the Boar an incarnation of Viṣṇu.

The distinction referred to in our Samhitā⁴ between primary (*mukhya*) and secondary (*gauna, avesā*) Avatāras is explained at length in Viṣvaksena Samhitā (*loc. cit.*, pp. 130-132). There the primary Avatāras only are declared to be like a flame springing from a flame, that is to say Viṣṇu Himself with a transcendent (*aprākṛta*) body, while a secondary Avatāra is a soul in bondage with a natural body which, however, is possessed (*āviṣṭā*) or pervaded, for some particular mission or function, by the power (*śakti*) of Viṣṇu. The primary Avatāras only should be worshipped by those seeking Liberation, while for mundane purposes (wealth, power, etc.) the secondary Avatāras may be resorted

¹ See below.

² Nor does the further division of the secondary or *avesā* Avatāras according to *svarūpāvesā* and *śaktyāvesā* (*loc. cit.*, p. 130) help to solve the riddle; for Vyāsa belongs necessarily to the same class as Kapila, etc.

³ Namely nos. 16, 17, 29, 36, 34, and 35 of our list; see Bhankar, *loc. cit.*, p. 41.

⁴ VIII, 51: *vibhāvanāntara-samjñam tad yac chaktyāvesa-samjñam*.

to. The said Saṃhitā enumerates as instances of secondary Avatāras : Brahmān, Śiva, Buddha¹, Vyāsa, Arjuna, Parasurāma, the Vasu called Pāvaka, and Kubera, the god of riches.

As for the origin of the Avatāras, Viṣvaksena Saṃhitā declares that all of them spring from Aniruddha, either directly or indirectly, examples of the latter class being Mahesvara (Śiva) who descends from Aniruddha through Brahmān, and Hayasiras who comes from the Fish, who himself springs from the direct Avatāra Kṛṣṇa. According to Lakṣmī Tantra also (2, 88) all the Vibhavas descend from Aniruddha. Pādma Tantra, on the other hand, says (I, 2. 81 fl.) that of the ten Avatāras the Fish, the Tortoise, and the Boar² have sprung from Vāsudeva; the Man-lion, Dwarf, Śrīrāma and Parasurāma from Saṃkarṣaṇa; Balarāma from Pradyumna; and Kṛṣṇa and Kalki from Aniruddha; and it indicates that the other Avatāras³ are to be distributed in a similar way.

The Avatāras are not confined to human and animal forms : the vegetable kingdom is sometimes chosen, as in the case of the crooked mango-tree in the Daṇḍaka Forest mentioned by Viṣvaksena S. (*loc. cit.*, p. 130) as an instance of this class of incarnations.

Even among inanimate objects an image of Kṛṣṇa, the Man-lion, Garuḍa, etc., becomes an Avatāra of Viṣṇu (endowed with a certain miraculous power felt by the worshipper) as soon as it is duly consecrated according to the Pāñcarātra rites, it being supposed that

¹ Possessed of the quality of making heretics, therefore called *mohana* "the bewilderer".

² That is, the three manifestations of Prajāpati mentioned in the Satapatha Brāhmaṇa (Dowson, *Hindu Classical Dictionary*, sub voce Avatāra).

³ Puruṣa, Satya, Acyuta, Buddha, Daśārha, Sauri, Anneṣa, Hayagrīva, Nṛsiṃha Sankhodara, Viṣvaksena (?), Vṛṣākapi, Ādivarāha.

Viṣṇu, owing to His omnipotence, is capable of "descending" into such images with a portion of His *śakti*, that is, with a subtle ("divine", "non-natural") body.¹ This is the Arcā Avatāra or incarnation for the purposes of ordinary worship. It is exhaustively treated in Viṣvaksena Samhitā (*loc. cit.*, pp. 122 and 143).

There is, finally, the Antaryāmi Avatāra, which is Aniruddha as the "Inner Ruler" of all souls (*niyanta sarva-dehinām*)² — a very old conception based on a famous Upaniṣad passage. The Antaryāmin is the mysterious power which appears as instinct and the like, and which as the "smokeless flame" seated in the "lotus of the heart" plays an important part in Yoga practice.³

The Avatāras, including those which belong to the past in so far as their visibility on earth is concerned, are held to be eternal aspects of Viṣṇu which are always helpful if properly meditated upon. It is, indeed, for meditation more than for anything else that Viṣṇu is believed to have manifested Himself under different forms.

To Pure Creation, thirdly, belongs the *paramavyoman*, "Highest Heaven", or Vaikuṇṭha⁴, with all the beings and objects contained in it. This Highest

¹ The presence of God as a Vibhava in generated bodies such as those of Rāma and Kṛṣṇa is also explained in this way; see Yat. Dip. ed. p. 53 where this is the answer to the question: "How can there be a junction between the natural and the non-natural?" (*prākṛta-aprākṛta-samsarguḥ katham?*).

² Viṣvaksena S. *loc. cit.*, p. 122.

³ This conception of God residing in the soul but not identical with it will be found to be responsible for the apparent Advaitism of a good many passages in the Pāñcarātra literature.

⁴ See VI, 21 fl. of Ahirb. Samhitā. This is the second-highest in the list of Tattvas, Lakṣmī Tantra VI, 43, enumerating: the Lord, Highest Heaven, the Puruṣa, Śakti, Niyati, etc. For *vyoman*, lit. "space; sphere", the synonyms *ākāśa*, *nalhas*, etc., are also used; cf. *loc. cit.*, VII, 9.

⁵ This name is ambiguous in that it also denotes, and more often so, the (lower) heaven of Viṣṇu in Satya-loka, — which is a reflection,

Heaven has nothing to do with any of the temporal heavens forming the upper spheres of the Cosmic Egg. This is indicated by its being called *Tripai-vibhūti*, "manifestation of the three-fourths [of God]", in contradistinction to the one-fourth with which Aniruddha creates the Cosmic Egg. The Highest Heaven, in that it is not reached, at Liberation, until after the "shell" or "wall" of the Cosmic Egg has been "pierced", is defined as "infinite above, limited below."¹

The Highest Heaven with its inhabitants² comes into existence together with the Vyūhas; and when, at the time of the Great Dissolution, the Cosmic Eggs disappear and Lakṣmī becomes indistinguishable from the Lord³, it is, of course, also withdrawn.⁴

But there is also another, evidently later, view, according to which the Highest Heaven (including, of course, the divine couple) is not affected by the Great Dissolution. With this second view is probably connected the distinction between the Highest Heaven and the world as *nitya-vibhūti*⁵ and *līlā-vibhūti*, "eternal manifestation" and "play-manifestation" (=manifestation of the play of God, that is, the world).⁶

en miniature, of the Highest Heaven — and occasionally even that whole sphere. Viṣṇu-loka is an equally ambiguous term. Some Saṃhitās connect each Vyūha with a particular heaven; see, for instance, Viṣṇu-saṃhitā, II, 20.

¹ *Sā vibhūtiḥ īdāha-pradeśo'nantā, aḥaḥ-pratosa paricchinā; Yat. Dip. ed. p. 53.* The journey of the liberated soul to the boundary of the Cosmic Egg and further on, is described with infinite detail in chapters 5 to 7 of *Tripādvibhūtimahānārāyaṇa Upaniṣad*.

² Among whom also the liberated souls are represented from the beginning, namely by those innumerable ones liberated in former Kalpas; P. Prakāśa S. VI, 7.

³ See above, beginning of section 2, p. 29 ff.

⁴ P. Prakāśa S. I, 14: *Vaiṣṇavādvibhūtiḥ hīva*.

⁵ Or *bhoga-vibhūti*, *Taittvratraya* ed. p. 76.

⁶ Cf. p. 53, our explanation of the terms *nityadīta* and *śāntidīta*.

In the Highest Heaven there is, just as on earth, a distinction between matter and souls. For the souls without matter would have no objects of enjoyment. The heavenly matter, however, or "pure matter" (*suddha-sattva*), as it is called, is not a mixture of the three Guṇas, nor the Sattva Guṇa without an admixture of the other Guṇas, though it is sometimes understood in the latter sense. The Highest Heaven coming into existence together with the Vyūhas (6. 21 fl.), it is clear that the Sattva Guṇa, which originates much later, namely only from Kāla (Time)¹, can have nothing to do with it. Pure Matter, then, is a sort of spiritual matter which exists nowhere except in Pure Creation. It is a necessary hypothesis for explaining: (1) the non-natural (*a-prakṛta*) bodies of God, the angels, and liberated souls; and (2) the presence, in the "City of Vaikuṇṭha", of inanimate objects, to wit, "instruments of enjoyment" such as sandal, flowers, jewels, etc."², and "places of enjoyment" such as parks, lotus-tanks, pavilions, etc."³ Pure matter is spiritual, that is "of the nature of Knowledge and Bliss" (6. 22, 24), in so far as it is nowhere an obstacle to the mind, but consists, on the contrary, of nothing but wishes materialised. It is, as it were, the "solidified splendour" (*styānā prabhā*) of Pure Creation (6. 21-22).

The most prominent figure in Highest Heaven is God Himself in His *pāra* or "highest" form, which is the first of his five prakāras or modes of existence, the other four being the Vyūhas and the three kinds of Avatāras

¹ See below section 3 of this part of our Introduction.

² One edition of Yat. Dīp. includes women, (*vadhū*)!

³ Cf., for (1) the *jīvanānandamayā dehāḥ*, and for (2) the *ānandamayā bhogāḥ* and *ānandalakṣaṇā lokāḥ* mentioned in VI, 24 and 23 resp. of *Ahīrbudhnya Samhitā*.

treated of above.¹ He assumes this form as a "root of his innumerable Avatāras"² and especially for the enjoyment of the angels and the liberated.³

The Divine Figure is adorned with nine chief ornaments and weapons, which symbolically represent the principles of the universe⁴, namely, the Kaustubha (a jewel worn on the breast)=the souls, the Śrīvatsa (a curl of hair on the breast)=Prakṛti, a club=Maṭa, a conch=the Sāttvic Ahaṃkāra, a bow=the Tāmasic Ahaṃkāra, a sword=knowledge, its sheath=ignorance, the discus=the mind, the arrows=the senses, a garland=the elements.⁵ These weapons and ornaments are not merely regarded as symbols but also as actually connected (as presiding deities or the like) with the Tattvas they represent. In this sense we read, for instance, in Viṣṇutilaka (2.29-31) that during the universal night the soul "in the form of the Kaustubha" rests in

¹ *Mama prakārah pañcātī prāhur vedānta-pārāgāḥ*, Viṣv. S., loc. cit., p. 122. Cf. above pp. 24 fl. our explanation of the name Pāñcarātra.

² *Anantāvatāra-kanda*, Tattvatraya ed. pp. 118-119. In Viḥagendra S. II, 15 the Sākṣāt Sakti is called *mūrtiṇaṃ bijam aryaṇam*.

³ The *para* form of God is four-armed and of dark-blue complexion (Viṣv. S., loc. cit., p. 136; Pādma Tantra I, 2, 13 and 15). It has sprung, according to Pādma Tantra (I, second adhyāya; cf. Viṣṇutilaka II, 5 fl.), from a still higher, the very first, form of God (*rūpam ādyam sanātanam*; Viṣṇutilaka II, 10: *Vāsudevāḥvayam mahāḥ*; cf. Ahirb. Samh., XLIII, 7: *mahāḥ paramabhāvaram*) which is two-handed (cf. Viḥagendra S. II, 16), of the colour of a pure crystal, and clad in a yellow robe — just as the Sudarṣana Puruṣa (*mantra-tanur Bhagavān*) residing in Vaiṣṇvātha who appears to Ahirbudhnyā, XLIV 22 fl. (cf. XLIII 9 fl.). This is the "best of Puruṣas" and the "Highest Light" seen by Brahman in meditation (Pādma Tantra I, 3, 16 fl.) and "ever to be remembered by Yogins as seated in the lotus of the heart", — that is, evidently, the Antaryāmin placed here above the Para. This form, again, has originated from "that which has all forms and no form", "Brahman without beginning, middle or end".

⁴ See next section of this Introduction.

⁵ The great authority on this subject is for all later writers the Aśrabhūṣaṇa Adhyāya of Viṣṇu Purāṇa (I, 22).

the splendour of Brāhman from which it is again sent out into the world (*prapañcita*) at the beginning of the new cosmic day in order to return once more and for ever when it is liberated.

God as Para is sometimes identified with, and sometimes distinguished from, the Vyūha Vāsudeva. When the two are distinguished, whether as *nityādīta* "ever-manifest" and *santādīta* "periodically manifest" or otherwise¹, the Vyūha Vāsudeva is said to have sprung from the Para Vāsudeva who, again, may be identified with, or [more correctly] distinguished from, the Absolute (Puruṣa, Brāhman, Nārāyaṇa, etc.)². Pādma Tantra describes the Para Vāsudeva as dividing himself "for some reason" and becoming with one half the Vyūha Vāsudeva, "crystal-like", and with the other Nārāyaṇa, "black as a cloud", the creator of the primeval waters (=Māyā).³

God as Para is said to be always in the company of his consort Sṛī (Lakṣmī), or of his wives Sṛī and Bhūmī, or of Sṛī, Bhūmī, and Nīlā, or even of eight or

¹ *Nityādītāt sambhūtvā tathā santādīto Hariḥ*, Viṣvaksena S., *loc. cit.*, p. 133, cf. p. 136. *Sānta-ulūka*, "set and risen", is a Tātpuruṣa compound of the Viśeṣaṇābhayapada class, cf. *snātānūlipta*, etc. The comm., *loc. cit.*, p. 133, gives no etymological explanation, but merely paraphrases the two terms by means of *nitya-mukta-anubhāṣya* and *santānūlipta*, respectively. Cf. above p. 50 the explanation of *ulūka* and *ulā-vibhūti*.

² Pādma Tantra I, 2. 16 fl.; cf. Viṣṇutilaka II, 11. Here the Para is not *nitya*, "eternal", but a periodical manifestation like the Vyūha Vāsudeva. This is, of necessity, also the standpoint of the Ahirb. Samph. which, however, in calling the Absolute *nityādīta* (II, 25) and Lakṣmī *udītānūditākeśvārī nimesānmesarūpinī* (III, 6) but again the Vyūhas *nityādīta* (IX, 31), is not consistent in the use of these terms.

³ The two are clearly distinguished in Pādma Tantra (see note 3 on p. 52), also in P. Prakāśa S.I, 2.3: *Puruṣād Vāsudevo'bhūt, catvāro hy abhavaṃs tathā*.

⁴ Viṣṇutilaka, however (II, 11-16), modifying this account, identifies the Para with Nārāyaṇa.

of twelve Saktis. The first of these views¹ is naturally favoured in such works as Ahirbudhnya Saṃhitā, which make Śakti a real philosophical principle.² The second view³ is based (in a rather strained manner) on the weighty authority of the Uttaranārāyaṇa (end) which is the continuation, in the White Yajurveda, of the Puruṣa Sūkta. The third view⁴ is the one adopted in the later Viśiṣṭādvaita⁵, where, however, it plays such an insignificant part that, for instance, in Tattvatraya this is the only item connected with the Para Vāsudeva which is mentioned but not explained.⁶ It is apparently not found at all in the older Saṃhitā literature.⁷ It is, however, expounded at some length in one of the Minor Upaniṣads, namely Sītā Upaniṣad, where (as in Vihagendra S. 2. a) Śrī, Bhūmī, and Nīlā are identified respectively with the Icchā, Kriyā, and Śākṣāt Śakti of the Devī; Śrī representing good luck (*bhadra*), Bhūmī might

¹ See Ahirb. Saṃh. VI, 25; IX, 31; XXXVI, 55; Lakṣmī Tantra VII, 9-10.

² This, of course, does not exclude the admission of the existence, in Highest Heaven, of minor Saktis; cf. XXVIII, 85 of Ahirb. Saṃhitā, enjoining that the worship of God should be followed by that of the gods and [their] Saktis (*śakti-yoṣitām*) forming His retinue.

³ Pādma Tantra I, 2. 46; Pārameśvara S. I, 7, where Bhūmī is called Puṣṭi (*Lakṣmīpuṣṭyoḥ svarūpe ca nityo Bhagavatā saha*).

⁴ Vihagendra S., 2nd adhyāya; P. Prakāśa S. I, 1. 58-59; Parāśara S., adhy. 8 to 10.

⁵ Tattvatraya, ed. pp. 85, 122; Yat. Dip., ed. p. 84.

⁶ The comm. makes a futile attempt at excusing the author, ed. p. 122.

⁷ The comm. both of Tattvatraya and Yat. Dip. have no other Smṛti authority for it than a stanza of the Śaiva Purāṇa, to which they add, as Śruti quotation, the passage of the Uttaranārāyaṇa mentioned above, Srinivāsadaśa explaining that Nīlā must be understood implicitly! — In P. Prakāśa S. (hardly earlier than the twelfth century) the three Saktis, regarded as aspects of the one Śakti, are connected with the souls, the white Śrī taking care of the souls in which the Sattva Guṇa dominates, the red Bhū of the Rājasic ones, and the black (*nīlā*) Durgā of the Tāmasic ones (I, 1. 58-59).

(*prabhāva*), and *Nilā* the moon, sun, and fire. *Śrī*, further, is threefold: as *Yoga*, *Bhoga*, and *Vira Sakti* (connected resp. with *Yoga* practice, domestic and temple worship); *Nilā* as *Soma* is also the goddess of vegetation, and as sun the goddess of time, while as fire she is connected with hunger and thirst, heat and cold; and *Bhūdevī*, of the nature of the *Prajāva*, is the sustaining power of the earth with its fourteen planes. The mention, in the *Upaniṣad*, of the *Rṣi* *Vaikhānasa* (though the passages in question are probably interpolated) seems to indicate that we should seek for these doctrines rather in the *Vaikhānasa* than in the *Pāñcarātra Saṃhitā*s. Eight *Saktis*, namely "*Lakṣmī*, etc.", are often mentioned but seldom enumerated. They are evidently the following eight, associated in *Vihagendra S.* (3. 8) with the "hero form" (*vīra-mūrti*) of the *Sudarsana*, to wit: *Kīrti* (Fame), *Śrī* (Fortune), *Vijayā* (Victress), *Sraddhā* (Faith), *Smṛti* (Memory), *Medhā* (Intelligence), *Dhṛti* (Endurance), and *Kṣamā* (Forbearance).¹ In *Pādma Tantra* (I, 2. 88) and *Viṣṇu-tilaka* (2. 21) they are stated to originate from the *Śrīvatsa* of *Viṣṇu*.² The following twelve *Saktis* are enumerated in *Sāttvata S.* (9. 88): *Lakṣmī*, *Puṣṭi* (Prosperity), *Dayā* (Compassion), *Nidrā* (Sleep), *Kṣamā*, *Kānti* (Beauty), *Sarasvatī* (Learning), *Dhṛti*, *Maitrī* (Benevolence), *Rati* (Venus), *Tuṣṭi* (Satisfaction), and *Mati* (= *Medhā*). These play a part in the *Avatāra* theory and elsewhere. For instance, the fourteenth *Avatāra* is said to be waited upon by *Lakṣmī*, *Nidrā*,

¹ For another "eight women" see XXVI, 37 fl. of *Alirb. Saṃhitā*.

² Who, as we have seen (p. 52, note 3), is subordinate here to a higher aspect of God.

Pṛiti (=Maitrī), and Vidyā (=Sarasvatī); and the thirty-ninth by Lakṣmī, Cintā (=Matī), Nidrā and Puṣṭi.

Of the two classes¹ of Jīvas or individual souls existing in the Highest Heaven, the more exalted ones are the so-called Nityas (eternal ones) or Sūris (sages, masters), which two words can be fairly accurately rendered by "angels".² They differ from the other class to be dealt with hereafter not in point of knowledge, both being declared to fully participate in the Lord's omniscience, but (1) in having been always free from defilement³, and (2) in holding perpetually certain offices as coadjutors of the Lord.⁴ The duties they have to discharge are, however, so mysterious that hardly any attempt has been made at defining the same. These angels are, besides the "door-keepers" and "town-watchmen" of the "Holy City of Vaikuṇṭha", called respectively Canda, Pracanda, Bhadra, Subhadra, etc., and Kumuda, Kumudākṣa, Puṇḍarika, Vāmana, etc.,⁵ the so-called Pārśadas or Pāriśadas, that is "companions" (retinue) of God, and in addition to [or among]⁶

¹ Mentioned together in several passages of Abhir. Sūph., for instance, IX, 30.

² The existence of these angels is based on such scriptural passages as the famous *Tad Viṣṇoḥ paramaṃ padam sādī paśyanī śūrayāḥ* and Svetāsvatara Upaniṣad VI, 13: *Nityo nityānāṃ cetanaś celanānām eko bahūnāṃ yo vidadhātī kāmān*.

³ *Kadāpi saṃsāram aprāptūḥ, asprṣṭa-saṃsāra-gaṇaiḥ* (Tattva-traya, ed. pp. 26, 28), the others being only *nivṛtta-saṃsārāḥ* "who have done with the world" (*ibid.*, p. 28).

⁴ *Tesām adbhikāra-viśeṣā īśvarasya nityācchayaivānūditvena vyavasthāpitāḥ*, Yat. Dip., ed. pp. 78-79.

⁵ Yat. Dip., ed. p. 83.

⁶ The Pāriśadas are distinguished from Kumuda, etc., as well as Ananta, etc., in Pādma Tantra I, 2, 36-40, but often the term is used in a wider sense. In Yat. Dip., ed. p. 84, "Ananta, Garuḍa, Viṣvakṣena, etc." are called Nityas, but not the "door-keepers" and "watchmen"; still, there being among the Muktaḥ neither office-bearers nor social distinctions at all (see below), the rest can be nothing but Nityas.

the latter the three more prominent beings called Ananta, Garuḍa, and Viṣvaksena. Of these, Ananta or Śeṣa, the serpent, is the couch of Viṣṇu, and Garuḍa, the "king of birds", his so-called vehicle (*vāhana*), while Viṣvaksena, the "lord of hosts"¹, is described as a sort of chief minister to God in all affairs heavenly and mundane. This part of Viṣvaksena, if taken in earnest, would seem to clash with the activities of the Vyūhas; and he appears to have actually ousted them in that sect described in the thirtieth chapter of Ānandagiri's *Śaṅkharavijaya*, which recommends the worship of him only who "rules the whole universe like a second Avatāra of the Lord residing in Vaikuṇṭha."² Lastly, it must be stated that Nityas can incarnate at will in the world, just as Viṣṇu Himself.³

The lower class of inhabitants of the Highest Heaven are the Muktas or Liberated. They are described (6. 27) as intensely radiating spiritual atoms of the size of a *trasareṇu* (mote in a sunbeam).⁴ This description is evidently connected with Mahābh. XII, 346. 18 fl. where it is said that the liberated become atomic after having been burned up by the Sun; and in so

¹ Called also Śeṣāsana "the eater of leavings", namely, of God, that is, presumably: the executor of His plans; cf. the commentaries, *Tattvatraya*, ed. p. 28; the explanation, *ibid.*, of the Serpent's name Śeṣa (the "appurtenance" of Viṣṇu, namely, His bed, seat, etc.) is little convincing. — Viṣvaksena occurs in the story narrated in udhy. XLI of Ahirb. Samh., stanzas 18 and 30 fl.

² *Ibid.* is mentioned a gorgeous Temple of Viṣvaksena in a place [in Northern India] called Maruṇḍha (spelt Maruṇḍha in the poetical paraphrase, *Anandāstrama* Series no. 22, p. 559).

³ Cf. p. 44, note 5.

⁴ *Svarūpam apunātram syāj jīvanānandakalakṣaṇam | trasareṇu-pramāṇis te ras'mi-kopi-vibhāgitih |*, Viṣvaksena S., *loc. cit.*, p. 13; the second half also in Ahirb. Samh., VI, 27.

far as this undoubtedly means that the liberated by passing through the Sun get rid of their subtle body, Tattvatraya (ed. p. 12) is right in teaching the "atomicity" of any, even the bound, soul, if described in itself.¹ The liberated, then, are bodiless. But this only means that they have no "karma-made" body; they can assume, whenever they like, a "non-natural" body, or even simultaneously several such bodies², and freely roam about in the whole world.³ They are, however, excluded from actual interference in worldly affairs⁴, differing in this respect from the angels, as already noticed. Among the Muktas there exists no gradation or social difference of any kind — they being as equal, essentially, as for instance grains of rice⁵ — still their mode of life differs by the difference of devotional inclinations preserved from their last earthly existence. "Whatever form [of God] the devotee has been attached to in his mundane existence, that kind does he behold as an inhabitant of the Highest Heaven."⁶ We are not told whether the liberated have any intercourse with each other, but if the bodies of Pitṛs (ancestors, etc., lost by death) are created for them by God⁷, and if, as is often said, they are intent upon nothing but service (*kain-karya*) to God, then, indeed, they are practically alone with their God.

¹ The soul is also *vibhu*, in spite of its atomicity; see below section 6 of this part of our Introduction.

² As Yogins can do already while still alive, the classical example being that of Saubhari (Tattvatraya ed., p. 31, Yat. Dip. ed., p. 70).

³ Yat. Dip. ed., p. 78.

⁴ Yat. Dip., p. 78; cf. Brahma Sūtra IV, 4, 17.

⁵ Tattvatraya, ed. p. 33.

⁶ Ahirb. Samh. VI, 29-30.

⁷ Yat. Dip., ed. p. 53.

The Viśiṣṭādvaita teaches that there exists a second class of Muktas, namely the so-called Kevalas or "exclusive ones", who are actually altogether "isolated" because they have reached Liberation, not by devotion to God, but by constant meditation upon the real nature of their own soul. They are said to be living, "like the wife who has lost her husband", "in some corner" outside both the Highest Heaven and the Cosmic Egg.¹ We have so far not found this doctrine in any of the Pāścārātra Saṃhitās but should not be surprised if it were eventually discovered in one or several of them.

3. INTERMEDIATE CREATION

(*Evolution, Second Stage*)

"Based" on Pure Creation² but performed with only one myriadth part of the infinitely small portion of divine energy employed in it³, is that other manifestation of the Bhūti Sakti which is "different from the pure one" (*suddhīlara*), that is, partly "mixed" and partly "impure"⁴, namely the Kūṭastha Puruṣa and the Māyā

¹ Yat. Dip., ed. p. 76, Tattvatraya, ed. pp. 28, 121.

² Tanmūlāva, VI, 7.

³ III, 27; Lakṣmi Tantra IV, 35.

⁴ The use, in our Saṃhitā, of the terms *suddhīlara* and *suddhīśuddha* is of a bewildering ambiguity. In VII, 68-70 the term *suddhīlara* has a different meaning in each of the three stanzas, namely, in 68: "comprising the pure and what is different from it"; in 69: "other than pure"; and in 70: "belonging to both the pure and what is different from it", — "what is different from it" (*itara*=*ad-itara*) being in 68 inclusive of, in 70 exclusive of the "mixed" creation, the latter being evidently not included either in 69. Similarly the sense of *suddhīśuddha* in V, 9 and LIX, 55 concurs with the first of the above meanings (*śuddha* implying the "mixed"), and that of *suddhī-śuddhī-maya* in VI, 34 with the third. — Instead of "mixed" (Viśvakṣena S., *loc. cit.*, p. 128 fl.) the present Saṃhitā says "pure-impure".

Sakti with their respective developments. This Non-pure Creation falls into a primary and a secondary one, and the former, again, consists of two well-defined stages¹ of which the first, to be described in this section, may well be called the Intermediate Creation.

The Kūṭastha Puruṣa, called also simply Kūṭastha² or Puruṣa, is explained in our Saṃhitā (6. 33-34) in the words: "An aggregate of souls, similar to a bee-hive³, the pure-impure condition of Bhūti, — such is the Puruṣa piled up by souls blunted by beginningless Germ-impressions (*vāsanā*)"; with which should be compared the definition in Lakṣmī Tantra (7. 11-12): "By Puruṣa is meant the all-knowing, all-faced Bhoktr Kūṭastha: as his parts go forth from him all the eternal souls (*jīva*), and likewise at [the time of] Dissolution the work[-bound] souls, go back to him, the highest soul (*nara*)."⁴ The Kūṭastha Puruṣa, then, is the soul of souls, that is to say, the totality, regarded as the source, of all disembodied but karma-bound (non-liberated) souls

¹ Treated respectively in adhyāyas VI and VII of our Saṃhitā.

² There are several speculations about the meaning of this word which is, of course, the old Sāṃkhya term mentioned already in the Buddhist Nikāyas. The explanation *rāśivat sthita* "existing in the form of a heap (collection, aggregate)", seems to be favoured, in our Saṃhitā, by the image of the bee-hive (see below). Other passages, however (XVI, 38, cf. 46; XXIV, 24; etc.), suggest the idea of the Puruṣa "standing at the top" of the soul's pedigree. The latter explanation is the one which Vedāntadesika prefers to the former; see his commentary on Śrībhāṣya for Bhṛgavadgītā XII, 3 (*anekasōm santanyamānānāṃ puruṣāṇāṃ sādharāṇo hi pūroḥ puruṣaḥ Kūṭasthaḥ*).

³ In IX, 25 this image is used for the Māyā Sakti, while in IX, 27 the Kūṭastha is compared with [the hole of] an Udumbara tree swarming with countless bees.

⁴ The Kūṭastha (and likewise the four Manus to be mentioned) is not a mere collective being; cf. the description of Brahman as "consisting of the totality of bound souls".

before the creation and after the dissolution of the "non-pure" universe.¹

He is of a mixed nature (*suddhy-asuddhi-maya*, 6. 34) in that he is pure in himself but impure on account of his carrying the above-mentioned Germ-impressions left over from the latest life-period of the souls.

The Kūṭastha Puruṣa, and, as will be seen, also the Māyā Śakti, take their rise from Pradyumna. The origin of the Kūṭastha from Pradyumna is made to agree with the Puruṣa Sūkta by describing the Kūṭastha as consisting of four couples, namely, the male and female ancestors of the four castes, springing respectively from the mouth, arms, legs, and feet of Pradyumna. Accordingly, the Kūṭastha is called "the Puruṣa of four pairs", "the Puruṣa consisting of twice four", "the aggregate of Manus", "the eight Manus", "the four Manus", or simply "the Manus"; and he is imagined as retaining this form while "descending" the long line of Tattvas in the manner to be described, until he is fully materialized and thus prepared for further multiplication. It is stated (7. 54 fl.)² that the Manus are the origin merely of the Piṭṛs, Devarṣis, and men³, and that there are other "wombs" (and, consequently, lines

¹ Note that the liberated souls do not return to the Kūṭastha.

² Viṣvaṁsena S., *loc. cit.*, p. 126. These seem to be the "four Manus" that have puzzled all commentators and translators of Bhagavadgītā X, 6, in which case the above conception of the Kūṭastha (though not necessarily the Pāñcarātra) would be older than the Gītā. Note that the Seven Rsis mentioned together with the four Manus in the śloka referred to of the Gītā have the same names as the Citras'ikhaṇḍins who, according to the Nārāyaṇīya, are the first promulgators of the Pāñcarātra.

³ In contradiction to IV, 13: *cetana-varga*, unless this be meant in a restricted sense.

⁴ Not of all men but only of the Sāttvic ones, according to some authorities; see below, fifth section.

of evolution) such as those of the Devas, Daityas, Gandharvas, etc.¹; but the latter are nowhere described.²

The Māyā Śakti, called also simply Śakti, further Bhagavat Śakti, Mūlaprakṛti, Śasvadvidyā, or simply Vidyā³, is the same to the material universe as is the Kūṭastha to the world of souls; that is to say, it is the non-spiritual energy which comes into existence, by the side of the Puruṣa, as the primitive form of the "matter" or "nature" (*prakṛti*) into which the Manus are destined to gradually "descend". As "root-matter", however (4. 4), it differs from the Mūlaprakṛti of the Sāṃkhyas (mentioned as such in 7. 1) in that the latter is only one of its two manifestations, namely, its so-called "Guṇa body" (*guṇa* or *guṇamaya vapus*), the other one being the "Time body" (*kālamaya vapus*) consisting of Kāla "Time" and its "subtle" cause, namely Niyati "Restriction".

These three last-mentioned, that is Niyati, Kāla, and Guṇa, are declared to originate from the forehead⁴, eyebrows, and ears respectively of Pradyumna (6. 12),

¹ Altogether eight such "forms" (*mūrti-aṣṭaka*) are enumerated, along with the Vibhavas, etc., in Pādma Tantra (I, 2. 29-30), namely, *brāhmi*, *prajāpatya*, *vaiṣṇavi*, *dīvyā*, *ārṣi*, *mānuṣi*, *āsuri*, and *paśādi*; cf. Sāṃkhya Kārikā 58.

² And cannot, indeed, be consistently described after the dissection of the Puruṣa for the purpose of man. Philosophy clashes here with mythology.

³ Of all these names, to which may be added from Lakṣmī Tantra: Mahālakṣmī, Mahesvari, and Bhadrakālī, the first alone (IV, 52; cf. VI, 35-36) is fairly unequivocal. The usual one, in our Saṃhitā, is Śakti. Vidyā, as an Āgamic term, means "magical power", that is much the same as Māyā, Avidyā, and, after all, Śakti, and all of these are synonyms of more than one kind of Prakṛti and therefore, like *dhenu*, etc., in constant danger of misinterpretation. The adjective *vaidya*, rather frequent in our Saṃhitā, is as a rule a mere substitute for *prakṛtika*.

⁴ For the connection of Niyati with the forehead cf. the phrase *lalāṭe likhitam* "written on the forehead" = fate.

just as the four pairs of Manus have been derived from his mouth, etc.

Having produced the Kūṭastha Puruṣa and the threefold Māyā Sakti, Pradyumna transfers both of them, "the Sakti with the Puruṣa in it" (6. 14), "for further development" (*vardhayēti*, 6. 15) to Aniruddha.

Developed for a thousand years (55. 48)¹ by the Yoga of Aniruddha (6. 14) there emerge now once more, but this time successively, the already-mentioned material principles (6. 48 fl.): first, directly from Aniruddha, Sakti; then, from Sakti, Niyati; from Niyati, Kāla; from Kāla, the Sattva Guṇa; from the latter the Rajo Guṇa; and, from the latter, the Tamo Guṇa; and simultaneously and in the same order the Manus travel through these Tattvas by "descending" into each of them, after its appearance, and "staying" in it, for some time, "as a foetus" (*kalālī-bhūta*, 6. 48), — which means (to judge from their further development) that they appropriate successively the individual faculty which each of these Tattvas is capable of bestowing. By the way it may be mentioned here that the chapter on Dissolution (4. 54-60) inserts the Kūṭastha between Aniruddha and Sakti, assigning thus to the Kūṭastha a position similar to that of Brahman in the Upaniṣads, creating the world and then entering it.

We have now to say some words on each of those educts of Māyā Sakti.

Māyā Sakti, Niyati, and Kāla occupy in the philosophy of the Pāñcarātra the very place which is

¹ Cf. such passages as Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad I, 1, 2 relating how the Year (that is, time) is born after having been "carried" by Prajāpati for one year.

held in the Saiva systems by the six so-called Kañcukas or "jackets", that is limiting forces owing to which the soul loses its natural perfections (omniscience, etc.)¹. As a matter of fact, the doctrine of the six Kañcukas called Mayā, Kalā, Vidyā, Rāga, Niyati, and Kāla seems to be a mere elaboration of the older doctrine, found with the Pāñcarātras, of only three powers of "limitation" (*saṃkoca*), namely the three mentioned. These three appear in Lakṣmī Tantra as "the three mothers and creators of the world" called Mahālakṣmī², Mahāvidyā³, and Mahākālī⁴ and representing respectively the Rājasic, Sāttvic, and Tāmasic aspect of the Goddess; and they are said to be Aniruddha's wife Rati in the form of the "Sheath of Māyā" (*māyā-kosa*)⁵.

Niyati, "the Śakti consisting of great knowledge"⁶, is "the subtle regulator of every thing"⁷ such as "the form which [a being] may have, its work, and its nature" (6. 48). It is clear from this definition⁸ that Niyati is not only what the Vaiśeṣikas call *Dis*, to wit the regulator of positions in space⁹, but that it also regulates, as Kārmic necessity, the intellectual capacity, inclinations,

¹ For an able account of these see Chatterji, *Kashmir Śaivism*, pp. 75 ff. Cf. also Schomerus, *Der Jaina-Siddhānta*, p. 137.

² Or Mahāśrī, Paramēśvarī, Bhadrakālī, etc.

³ Or Mahāvāgī, Sarasvatī, Mahādhenu, etc.

⁴ Or Mahāmāyā, Kālārātri, Nidrā, etc.

⁵ Lakṣmī Tantra VII, 13; IV, 67; VI, 18-19; see for the names also IV, 36, 39 ff., 62, and V, VI, VII (*passim*).

⁶ Mahāvidyāmāyī śaktiḥ, IV, 51. Cf. note 3.

⁷ Śākṣmaḥ sarva-niyāmakaḥ, VI, 46.

⁸ Which is foreshadowed in Brhadāranyaka Upaniṣad III, 8. 9: "By the order of this Imperishable One are kept asunder (*vidhṛtau tiṣṭhataḥ*) sun and moon are the gods dependent on the performer of sacrifices, the manes on the funeral gift." Cf. also *ibid.* IV, 4, 22: *setur vidharanaḥ*.

⁹ Chatterji, *Hindu Realism*, pp. 58 ff.

and practical ability of every being; that is to say, that it includes the functions of the above-mentioned Śaiva principles called Vidyā, Rāga, and Kālā.¹

Kālā, Time, is defined (4. 48) as "the mysterious power existing in time, which urges on everything", and, in another passage (6. 81), as the principle which "pursues" everything to be matured, as the stream [is after] the bank of the river." It is further said (6. 40) that this is "the cooking (maturing) form of time".² Kālā, then, as originating from Niyati and giving origin to the Guṇas, is not time as it appears to us (subjective time) but a subtle force conditioning it. This distinction between the ordinary or empiric and a higher or transcendental time can be traced back³ to the Kālā hymns of the Atharvaveda and is recognizable in the great epic in such phrases as "Time leads me in time"⁴. One Upaniṣad⁵ speaks of "the time that has parts" (*sakālā kālā*) and "non-time having no parts", the former being "later" than the sun and stars, the latter "earlier"; further on, time that "cooks" (matures) all beings, but is excelled by "him in whom time is cooked". From these two famous texts and similar ones it was eventually concluded that the

¹ The Śaiva principle Niyati, as distinct from Vidyā, etc., was originally in all probability nothing more than the Dis of the Vaiśeṣikas; but the use of the word in common language in the sense of Fate has (at least in the Dravidian school) obscured its relation to the other Kāṇukas.

² Or "counts, measures" (*kālayati*).

³ *Kālasya pācanam rūpam*.

⁴ See my comprehensive sketch of the earlier history of Kālā in *Ueber den Stand der Indischen Philosophie zur Zeit Mahāvīras und Buddhas*, pp. 17 to 30.

⁵ *Kālāḥ kālā nayati mīm*, XII, 227. 29.

⁶ *Maṭṭrāyaṇa* VI, 15.

changing time which we observe in daily life is only "time as an effect" (*kārya-kāla*) the cause of which must be a "time without sections" (*akhaṇḍa-kāla*) and unchanging¹; and (2) that there must be a sphere or condition which is totally unaffected by time², though time exists in it as an instrument to be used at will;—that is to say that there are, strictly speaking, three kinds of time, to wit: (1) effected or "gross" time, which plays no part until after the creation of the Tattvas³; (2) causal or "subtle" time which, though relatively "eternal" (and often called so) is also created, namely, by Aniruddha (or Pradyumna); and (3) "highest" time existing in Pure Creation. It is, evidently, in this sense that our Saṃhitā declares (53. 10-11): "Gross is called the time possessing the *lava* (one-sixth of a second), etc.; subtle the one determining the Tattvas; while that which pervades the activity of the Vyūhas is styled Highest Time". That there may be a still higher time connected with Vāsudeva alone is denied in the words (53. 11-12): "Effecting by time belongs always to the triad of Vyūhas [only]: the Lord Vāsudeva is not a Vyūha⁴ nor a possessor of time." It follows, then, that the Tattva called Kāla emanating from Niyati is the second or "subtle" kind of time.⁵

¹ Yat. Dip., ed. p. 50, and elsewhere.

² Tattvatraya, ed. p. 122.

³ Though, as will be seen, it comes into existence already before the latter is completed.

⁴ Though said to form a tetrad together with the Vyūhas, V, 25-26.

⁵ There is more material about this subject (for instance, adhy. III of P. Prakāśa S.); and it will probably be found that the conception of time is not exactly the same in some Saṃhitās as in others.

"The Guṇa Body, or that form of Śakti mentioned above which is manifested gradually from Kāla" (6. 51-52) consists of the three Guṇas, as already remarked. It has to be added that each Guṇa, while evolving in the manner described, comes under the special protectorship of Aniruddha in the form of the Trimūrti; that is to say: Aniruddha as Viṣṇu becomes the superintendent of Sattva, as Brahmān that of Rajas, and as Rndra that of Tamas. These three gods, together with their Śaktis (Lakṣmī, Sarasvatī, Gaurī)¹, regarded as the forces underlying the formation of the Avyakta, are called in Lakṣmī Tantra (6. 20-21) the "Sheath of Generation" (*prasūti-kosa*)². In the same text (4. 32 fl.) it is stated with regard to the first origin of the Guṇas that they have been formed from [an infinitesimal part of] the first, second, and third of the six Guṇas of the Lord.³ The qualities which become manifest through the Guṇas are according to Ahirb. Samh.: (1) lightness, brightness, healthiness, pleasure; (2) motion, passion, restlessness, pain; and (3) heaviness, obstruction, inertia, stupefaction.

After the Guṇas have evolved separately, they become, "for the purpose of creation", a uniform mass called as a rule *Avyakta* (the Non-manifest) or *Mūlaprakṛti* (Root-nature), but also, according to

¹ Who, however, according to Lakṣmī Tantra V, 6 fl., have sprung: Brahmān and Lakṣmī from Mahālakṣmī + Pradyumna; Rudra and Sarasvatī from Mahākālī + Saṅkarṣaṇa; and Viṣṇu and Gaurī from Mahāvidyā + Aniruddha.

² This is the third *kosa* or material "husk" of the Devī, the second being the above-mentioned Māyā Kosa, and the first the Śakti Kosa comprising the Vyūhas and their Śaktis. Three more Kosas are connected with the lower primary and the secondary creation to be described in the next two sections of this Introduction.

³ The other three being employed for the creation of Kāla; *ibid.* V, 24-25.

our Saṃhitā (6. 48), by such names as Tamas (Darkness)¹, Guṇa-sāmya (Equality of Guṇas)², Avidyā (Ignorance), Svabhāva (Nature), Akṣara (the Imperishable), Yoni (Womb), Ayoni (the Unborn), Guṇa-yoni (= *guṇamaya yoni*, Guṇa-made Womb).

4. LOWER PRIMARY CREATION

(*Evolution, Third Stage.*)

The "descent" of the Manus into Matter having reached the Tamo Guṇa (6. 55), and the three Guṇas having joined to form the Mūlaprakṛti (6. 51 fl.), there follows now that evolution which is the only one known to the Classical Sāṃkhya with which, as we shall see, the Pāñcarātra does on the whole, but not throughout, agree.

At the very outset there is this difference that, whereas the Classical Sāṃkhya has only two principles to start with, namely, Puruṣa and Prakṛti, our Saṃhitā begins this chapter with stating emphatically (though not in a polemic way) that the development which now sets in, results from the combined activity of three principal agents, namely, Prakṛti, Puruṣa, and Kāla (Matter, Soul, Time).³ The mutual relation of the first two is explained in exactly the same way as in the Classical

¹ That is, undifferentiatedness. Cf. the expression *śāntātman* used promiscuously with *avyakta* in Kāthaka Upaniṣad III, 10-13.

² Meaning that in this condition, as distinguished from the later "inequality of Guṇas" (*guṇa-vaiśāmya*), the three forces are equally distributed in every particle of matter.

³ In the Classical Sāṃkhya time is a mere quality of matter (Sāṃkhya Sūtra II, 12), — an impossible view in an early system; cf. Schrader, *Ueber den Stand der Indischen Philosophie zur Zeit Mahāvīras und Buddhas*.

Sāṃkhya: Prakṛti changes, like milk and clay [changing, respectively, to curds, etc., and pots, etc.], owing to the proximity (=magnetic influence) of the unchangeable Puruṣa. But both these Tattvas are being "cooked" by Time.¹ Again, there is this difference, that there are not many Puruṣas, as in classical Sāṃkhya, but at this stage only the one Kūṭastha or Samastī (Collective) Puruṣa.

As the first product of this combined activity of the three there emerges from the Avyakta the Mahat (masc., neutr.) or "Great One", called also Mahat Tattva "the Great Principle".² Our Saṃhitā enumerates (7. 8-9) the following more or less pregnant synonyms for this term: Vidyā³, Go (Cow)⁴, Avānī (Earth), Brāhmī (the Cosmic One), Vadhū (Woman)⁵, Vṛddhi (Growth), Mati (Intellect), Madhu (Honey)⁶, Akhyāti (Non-discrimination), Īsvara (Lord), and Prājña (Wise)⁷ to which some others, mostly synonyms of Mati, have to be added, notably Buddhi.

About Mahat two seemingly contradictory statements are put side by side, of which the first clearly shows that the Pāñcarātra has drawn from an older form of the Sāṃkhya philosophy than the one which has survived in the Kārikā and the Sūtras. The

¹ How, in spite of this, the Puruṣa remains "unchanged" (*aparīṇāmin*, VII, 6), is not explained.

² The Mahat and remaining principles are symbolized by the lotus growing from the navel of Padmanābha (Aniruddha); see Indrarātra I, 18 (*Mahat-ādyaṃ pañcakam*), etc.

³ Cf. note 3 on page 62.

⁴ Cf. Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad II, 5.

⁵ The last two names are from Māṇḍūkya Upaniṣad where they are used with reference to the *suṣuptī* plane of consciousness. For Akhyāti see below p. 73.

Mahat, we are first told (7. 9-11)¹, is threefold, in conformity with the three Guṇas, its Tamas element appearing as Kāla (time), its Sattva element as Buddhi (reason, intellect), and its Rajas element as Prāṇa (vitality). The next statement, which would hopelessly conflict with the preceding one, unless we refer it not to the cosmic Mahat but to Buddhi as an individual organ (*cf.* below), is essentially identical with the teaching of the twenty-third āryā of Sāṃkhya-Kārikā, namely that Mahat manifests itself in four Sāttvic and four Tāmasic forms, being respectively good actions (*dharma*), knowledge, dispassion, and might, and their opposites.²

Now, as regards Kāla, which is here defined as "consisting of truṭis, lavas, etc."³, it is evident that in this passage a different and lower form of Time must be meant than its "subtle" or "cooking" form originating, as we have seen, from Niyati. For, Subtle Time belongs to Unmanifest Nature, while Mahat is the beginning of Manifest Nature.⁴ It follows that Kāla as

¹ Cf. Lakṣmī Tantra XVI, 2-4:

*Sa Mahān nāma, tasyāpi vidhau tīṣṭhaḥ prakīrtitāḥ |
sāttviko Buddhir ity uktō, rājasah Prāṇa eva hi ||
tāmasah Kāla ity uktas; teṣāṃ vyākhyām imāṃ śṛṇu |
Buddhir adhyavasūyasya, Prāṇah prayatanasya ca ||
Kālah kalānorūpasya parīṇāmasya kāraṇam |*

² The rôle of the Tajasa (Rājasic) Mahat is, according to the twenty-fifth āryā, to co-operate with both the Sāttvika and the Tāmasa.

³ And similarly in the corresponding passage of Lakṣmī Tantra quoted above, note 1 on this page; for which reason we cannot but believe that really time is meant here and not the Time Lotus producing Brahman and Sarasvatī, as stated in Lakṣmī Tantra V, 27 fl., which rather appears to be another instance of mythology clashing with philosophy.

⁴ In the comm. on Tattvatraya, ed. p. 79, the relation of the two kinds of time distinguished there are actually likened to that of the Avyakta and the Vyakta.

a form of Mahat can be nothing else but Gross Time referred to above, p. 66. And that this is not only the form of time which we perceive, but first of all the one with which we perceive¹, must be concluded from the fact that the two other forms of Mahat, namely Buddhi and Prāṇa, are regarded as individual powers acquired by the Manus during their "descent" through the Great Principle. With regard to Buddhi it is expressly stated (7. 13-14) that to the eight Manus, while dwelling in "the womb of Vidya", there originates that "natural organ (*vaidyam indriyam*), called Bodhana, by means of which they can ascertain [the nature of] things, discriminating between the real and the unreal." The five Prāṇas are in Classical Sāṃkhya² a common function of Buddhi, Ahankāra, and Manas, which three together form the so-called Inner Organ (*antah-karana*); whereas, according to the mentioned statement of our Sāṃhitā, corroborated by 7. 42-43, they come from Mahat only.³

¹ Time as a "form-of-perception", *Anschauungsform*. We admit that it is almost impossible to believe these mythologizing philosophers to have been capable of discovering a Kantian conception, and we are far from asserting that they were clearly conscious of distinguishing objective and subjective time, but we do not see how the above conclusion can be avoided without straining the passage. Drawing parallels is undoubtedly a dangerous thing in comparative philosophy, but it is equally dangerous to adhere at any cost to one's prejudices. We shall see (in section 6, below) that the idea of spatial transcendence, to which according to Deussen Indian philosophy has not been able to rise, was perfectly familiar to the Pāṇcarātrins. and not only to them, in spite of the misleading terms used for it.

² Kārikā 29; Sūtra II, 31.

³ There is in Lakṣmī Tantra (V, 27b-33, ed. 37b-43) an enigmatical explanation of the Mahat which does not agree with the stanzas quoted (p. 70 note 1) from the same work and representing the view of our Sāṃhitā. The Mahat, according to that text, is called so ("The Great One") "on account of its comprehending the Lotus, the Male, and the Woman" (*padma-puṃ-stṛī-samālambhāt mahattvam tasya śabdyate*), the Lotus being subsequently identified

We now turn to the question: What is Mahat?, which question, on account of its importance for the history of Indian philosophy, must be answered at some length.

The one important thing to be noticed in connection with Mahat is that Buddhi is not a mere synonym for it, as in Classical Sāṃkhya, but one of its three forms: the Sāttvic one; and that the individual organ Buddhi is a product of the Sāttvic Mahat in exactly the same sense as Manas is a product of the Sāttvic Ahaṃkāra¹. This is a sign of antiquity; for in Kāṭhaka Upaniṣad also (3. 10-18) Buddhi and Mahat are not yet identical, the former, called *jñāna ātman* "Knowledge Self", being a lower principle than the "Great Self" which, in its turn, is inferior to the "Quiet Self" (*sānta ātman*) which, again, is excelled by the Puruṣa. On the other hand, this distinction between Buddhi and Mahat, together with the synonyms of the latter, furnishes the solution to the riddle, never before satisfactorily answered, as to the origin of the term Mahat. The synonyms may be divided into two classes, to wit (1) those that are mere names of Prakṛti, such as Go, Avani, Brāhmi, Vadhū, Vṛddhi, Madhu; and (2) those referring to consciousness. Of the latter class, again, those which are

with Prāṇa (whose quality is *spanda* "vibration"), the Woman with Buddhi, and the Male with the Puruṣa as the performer of good and evil deeds. Then there follows, just as in our Saṃhitā after the description of the threefold Mahat, a passage on the 2X4 Sāttvic and Tāmasic manifestations of Buddhi, and after that the Ahaṃkāra and the remaining Tattvas are explained. — Yat. Dip., ed. p. 50, in rejecting the view that time is Tāmaso Mahān, evidently means to say that the definition is too narrow. — According to a view mentioned in the comm. on Tattvatraya, ed. p. 79, the several kinds of time differ in the rapidity of vibrations, with which should be compared the statement above, p. 27 note 2.

¹ On the latter, generally called Vaikṛta Ahaṃkāra, see below.

common to Mahat and the organ Buddhi, namely, Buddhi, Mati, Trayī, and Vidyā, are for this reason as little significant in themselves as are the names of Prakṛti. But the remaining three names referring to the subconscious life, namely Akhyāti¹, Prājñā, and Īsvara, clearly indicate that nothing else can be meant by Mahat than the Prāṇa or Mukhya Prāṇa of the ancient Upaniṣads, which is both vitality (*prāṇa*, *āyus*) and sub- or super-conscious intelligence (*prajñā*), and on whom the five Prāṇas as well as the senses are said to depend like servants on their master.² Mahat is cosmic Prāṇa, the "Breath of the World", the "Unconscious", that is the physical, yet intelligent energy at work at the building up and preserving of organisms.³ Prāṇa in this sense is called in the Upaniṣads: Brāhman, protector (ruler, lord) of the world, breath (*ātman*) of the gods, generator of beings, eater, the one sage; and in Chāndogya Upaniṣad 3. 7 an [apparently current] stanza on the Prāṇa is quoted in which the phrase occurs: "great they call his might (lit. : greatness)" (*mahāntum asya mahimānam āhuh*) which is perhaps the source of the name Mahat. A proof for the correctness of our equation Mahat=Prāṇa is contained in the enumeration, in the twelfth chapter of this Saṃhitā, of the principles taught in the Sāṃkhya system, where in the tenth place we do not find

¹ The "non-discrimination" in dreamless sleep; for the next two names see note 5 on p. 69.

² The principal passages to be compared, also for the following, are: Kauṣītaki, III, IV 20, II 1; Chāndogya IV 3; Maitrāyaṇa II 6; Prasna II.

³ Cf. the *mahad brahma* of Bhagavadgītā XIV, 3-4, and note that *Brāhmī* is among the synonyms of Mahat, and *Brāhman* among those of Prāṇa (see below) as well as, in some Sāṃkhya treatises (for instance the Comm. on Tattvasamāsa), those of Prakṛti.

Mahat, as should be expected, but Prāṇa.¹ This equation throws also an unexpected light on the connection of Buddhism and Sāṃkhya, namely, in that it permits of the proportion Mahat : Buddhi = Vijñāna-dhātu : Vijñāna-skandha. For, while there can be little doubt² as to the correspondence³ of the organ Buddhi with the Vijñāna-skandha, it is practically certain that Mahat = Prāṇa is the very same thing as that "re-connection consciousness" (*pratisandhi-vijñāna*) which, according to the Buddha's doctrine, descends into the womb of the mother, at the time of conception, bridging over death and birth, and to which Liberation alone puts an end, whereas the personal consciousness (*vijñāna-skandha*) is destroyed in every single death.⁴ Again, one cannot help thinking that even the Ātman taught in the famous Yājñavalkya Kāṇḍa is very nearly identical with our Mahat. He is the subconscious energy, the "place of union" (*ekāyana*), the Prāṇa to which, in dreamless sleep and death, all our conscious functions return⁵, in order to go forth from it once more in awakening and birth respectively; he is the [sub- and super-] "conscious self" (*prājña ātman*) "embraced" by which in dreamless sleep man "has no [longer any] notion of outside and inside" (IV, 3. 21);

¹ We were not yet aware of the equation, when writing our article on the Saṁtāntra in Z. D. M. G., 1914, and consequently thought of the five Prāṇas only.

² Except for those who have made up their minds to distribute the teachings of the Nikāyas between two radically opposed sects.

³ Not, of course, identity.

⁴ The *vijñāna-dhātu* of the Nikāyas, therefore, must be regarded as a sort of consciousness *in potentia* from which the *saḍ-āyatana*, and, through it, the *caṭṭasikāḥ skandhāḥ* evolve.

⁵ Bhāṣya Upaniṣad IV, 3, 36: *evam evāyaṃ puruṣaḥ . . . dravati prāṇāyaiva*.

he is "this great being (*mahad bhūtam*), infinite, shoreless, all-consciousness (*viññāna-ghana*)" which [in the form of limited conscious functions] arises "from the elements" and vanishes into them again (II, 4. 12); he is the "name" (*nāman*) surviving the decay of the body (III, 2. 12) and building up the new embryo (IV, 4. 4) — just as the Buddhist *viññāna* element which moreover, as contrasted with the body (*rūpa*), is also called *nāman*; he is, in short, "that great, unborn Self which, among the *Prāṇas*, is the one consisting of consciousness."¹ And, finally, this description of the "Self" seems to agree, in all essential points, with that also in the *Tattvamasi* section of *Chāndogya Upaniṣad*, though there already two higher principles appear than the *Prāṇa* (namely *Tejas* and *Parā Devatā*), while in *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad* only a very feeble attempt is made at distinguishing the *Ātman* from the *Prāṇa*. The position of the *Prāṇa*, then, is still unsettled in the older *Upaniṣads*; and it is, we hold, from this half-settled idea of the *Prāṇa* or *Ātman* that the pre-classical *Sāṃkhya*, on which the *Pāñcarātra* is based, has derived its conception of the *Mahat* as the Unconscious consisting of intelligence, vitality, and time.

From *Mahat*, again, originates the cosmic *Tattva* called *Ahaṃkāra* or "I-maker". As its synonyms the usual ones are given (*Abhimāna*, *Abhimānṛ*, *Ahaṃkṛti*), besides *Prajāpati* (Lord of creatures) and *Boddhṛ* (Attention-maker). It has a *Sāttvic*, a *Rājasic*, and a *Tāmasic* form called respectively *Vaikārika*, *Taijasa*, and *Bhūtādi*. It manifests itself individually as

¹ *Sa vā eṣa mahān aja ātmā yo'yaṃ viññānamayaḥ prāṇesu* (IV, 4.22.)

saṃrambha (egotistic interest) and *saṃkalpa* (imagination, will) in accordance with the two organs called the [individual] *Ahaṃkāra* and *Manas* with which it endows the *Manuṣya* passing through its "womb" (7. 20, 42-43). *Manas* is declared a direct product of the *Vaikārika*, and *Ahaṃkāra* evidently comes from the *Bhūtādi*, while the *Taijasa* seems to participate equally in the production of both those organs.¹

From *Ahaṃkāra* the *Manuṣya* further receive the ten *Indriyas* (senses), but only indirectly, that is, in the course of the evolution of the Elements. To understand this somewhat complicated last phase in the evolution of *Tattvas* it will be useful to remember the following table :

Ahaṃkāra			
Bhūtādi ←		Taijasa →	Vaikārika
Tanmātras :	Bhūtas :	Buddhindriyas : Karmēndriyas :	
śabda →	ākāśa	śrotra	vāc
sparsa →	vāyu	tvac	pāṇi
rūpa →	tejas	cakṣus	pāda
rasa →	āpas	rasanā	upastha
gandha →	prthivi	ghrāṇa	pāyū

From the *Bhūtādi*, "assisted" by the *Taijasa*², is produced Sound-in-itself (*śabda-tanmātra*); the latter is the immediate cause of Ether (*ākāśa*), while at the same time, with its co-operation (*sahakāritva*) and that of the *Taijasa*, the *Vaikārika* produces Hearing (*śrotra*), and then, with the co-operation of the latter, Speech (*vāc*). Hereafter, from Sound-in-itself is produced Touch-in-itself (*sparsa*) which in its turn is the immediate

¹ See p. 70, note 2.

² Cf. Sāṃkhya Kārikā 25: *Taijasiṁ ubhayam*. Lakṣmi Tantra, speaking on Non-pure Creation generally, says (IV, 34) that "mostly *Rajas*" is engaged in it which is, however, "flanked" by *Sattva* and *Tamas* (*abhitāḥ satvatamasi guṇau dvau tasya tiṣṭhataḥ*).

cause of Air (*vāyu*), while as a mediate cause it helps in producing the Skin sense (*tvac*) with the help of which, finally, the faculty of Handling (*pāṇi*) originates. And so forth.

It must be admitted that our Saṃhitā mentions nothing about "co-operation", and that from the seventh adhyāya it would rather seem as though each Tanmātra originates directly from the Bhūtādi, and, simultaneously, each pair of Indriyas directly and only from the Vaikārika.¹ But according to the chapter on Involution² each pair of Indriyas dissolves together with the particular Bhūta in the corresponding Tanmātra, so that evidently for the author of our Saṃhitā the whole process takes place as in the account accepted as authentic by Tattvatraya.³

The Manus, then, by entering successively the five Elements, are furnished, at each of these steps, with one sensory and one motory faculty, so that they are at last in possession both of the five "Knowledge-senses" and of the five "Action-senses". The equipment of the Manus is herewith complete⁴: provided with all the organs they were in need of they are standing, in perfect loneliness, "on the earth resembling the back of a tortoise" (4. 14).

¹ As is apparently the doctrine of the Sāṃkhya Kārikā (cf. Deussen, *Allgemeine Geschichte der Philosophie* I, 3, p. 446 bottom). It should, however, not be forgotten that the Kārikā gives only the barest outline of the system.

² Adhyāya IV, see especially s1. 35 fl.

³ Ed. p. 56 fl. Another Sūtra (*ibid.*, p. 57) mentions the opinion that from *ākāśa* springs the *śabda-tanmātra*, from the latter *vāyu*, etc.; and still another view (an intermediate one) is found in Viṣṇutīlaka II, 66 fl. where the *śabda-tanmātra* is said to produce *ākāśa*, the latter (not the former) the *sparsa-tanmātra*, this one *vāyu*, etc.

⁴ The following, up to the end of this section, presupposes the creation of the Egg and therefore belongs, properly speaking, to the next section of our Introduction. However, the exact place to be assigned in our account of Secondary Creation

The four couples now place themselves under the protection of Aniruddha¹ and, by his command, begin to multiply: each of the four pairs generates a hundred descendants, male and female, called Mānavas, and these, continuing the work of generation, become the ancestors of numberless² Mānavamānavas.

There follows³ what corresponds to the Fall of Man in Jewish and Christian theology, to wit the *jñāna-bhramsa* or "fall from knowledge" of all the Mānavamānavas (7, 41). This mystic event is narrated thus: Vidyā⁴ becomes, with "some portion" of herself, a cow; which means, continues our text, that she obtains the condition of a cloud⁵; then the milk called *varṣa* (rain; year) proceeding from the latter becomes food; and the souls eat of that "milk of nature" (material milk; *vaidyaṃ payah*) and their naturally unlimited knowledge becomes limited (obscured, contracted). Thus religion becomes necessary, and the "Manus of old"⁶ start the

to the events related here being rather doubtful, it was not found advisable to interrupt the account of our Saphitā.

¹ *Ātmany adhyakṣam Īśānam Aniruddhaṃ dadhātī* (VII, 48).

² *Aparimitaḥ* (VII, 43.)

³ In the account we are reproducing, though perhaps not in the order of events. Viṣṇutilaka teaches (II, 63) that at the creation of the Mahat Tattva "there originates, together with the Guṇas, the delusion of men"; while, on the other hand, delusion seems to set in gradually towards the end of the first Yuga: see below, next section.

⁴ Prakṛti, in the highest sense, namely the Bhūti Śakti which, according to adhyāya IV, 3-5, is alternately a "cow in the form of a cloud" and a "non-cow" "called the Unmanifest". (Correct accordingly the second bracketed gloss on page 70 of the text-edition; the Mahat cannot be meant because it belongs to Manifest Nature.)

⁵ That is, a Brahmanda; cf. above, end of section 1 of this part of our Introduction, p. 29.

⁶ Not, of course, the four collective beings, but the historical ones; cf. XLIII, 3.

Sāstra by following which the soul may regain its natural purity.

5. SECONDARY OR "GROSS" CREATION¹

The appearance of the last Tattva (Earth) marks the end of the Cosmic Night and the beginning of the Day.² Not immediately, however, after the Tattvas have originated, can the Manus commence their activity on earth, it being first necessary that the Cosmic Egg (Brahmāṇḍa) and in it the god Brahman should come into existence; while for the creation of the Egg the Tattvas must first join to form a compound — just as a wall cannot be erected with clay, sand, and water, as long as these are still unmixed.³

Of this so-called Secondary or Gross Creation,⁴ referred to but occasionally in our Saṃhitā in one or two places⁵, Pādma Tantra gives the following short account (I. 5. 19-21)⁶:

"The principles [thus] created, existing separately with their respective faculties, could not without

¹ Origin and internal evolution of the Brahmāṇḍa, that is the Cosmic Egg in the *avyakta* and in the *vyakta* stages corresponding respectively to the Brahmāṇḍa Kośa and the Jivadeha Kośa (fifth and sixth Kośas) taught in Lakṣmī Tantra VI, 23-25, unless, as seems to be done in some texts (including perhaps the one in question) the origin of the Egg is reckoned from that of the Lotus (Mahat, etc.), in which case the fourth or Prakṛti Kośa would be merely the Avyakta from which the Lotus originates.

² P. Prakāśa S. I, 2 end. Primary (preparatory) creation takes place during the eighth part of the Night.

³ Tattvatraya, ed., p. 64.

⁴ As we may call it, though the use of these terms (*sadvārikā* "mediate" *śṛṣṭi*, *sthūlā śṛṣṭi*) seems to be, as a rule, restricted to the internal evolution of the Egg; see, for instance, Tattvatraya, ed. p. 65, etc., and Indrarātra, I, 17 fl.

⁵ XXX, 8 fl, XLI, 5-6.

⁶ Cf. Lakṣmī Tantra V, 74 fl.; Viṣvaksena S., *loc. cit.*, p. 64.

coalescing into a mass (*saṃhatīm vinā*) create beings. They, then, from Mahat down to the Gross Elements, became massed together, under the influence of the foremost Puruṣa. Then [out of them] an egg was produced from the navel of Padmanābha, who is a portion of Myself, and [in the egg] thou, O Lotus-born one, becamest the womb of the world. It is thus that at the beginning of creation this whole world came to arise from Prakṛti."

A fuller account¹ says that from the navel of Padmanābha there springs a golden egg containing the Tattvas in a subtle condition; and, while the egg is growing, a shining white lotus appears in it (*sic*), and in (on) the lotus², finally, Aniruddha creates "the four-faced creator (Brahmān)."³ Then Brahmān⁴ makes three attempts at creating the world, the third of which only is fully successful, by generating (1) the four Youths (Sanaka, etc.), who refuse to have offspring; (2) the androgyne Rudra (Śiva) who by self-partition creates the eleven principal and many minor Rudras;

¹ *Ibid.* I, adhy. 3; cf. Viṣṇutilaka II, 40 fl.

² In the pericarp, says Prasna S. II, 41.

³ P. Prakāśa S. (III, 37-38) says that Brahmān has sprung "from the lotus-bud, the prakṛtic one, being of the nature of the world (*lokamaya*), which [bud] itself has sprung from the navel of Viṣṇu sleeping in its (the egg's) interior, namely in the midst of the water." According to Lakṣmī Tantra V. 15 fl. the egg containing the Avyakta was created by Brahmān and Sarasvatī (that is, Pradyumna and his Śakti), after which Hṛṣikeśa (=Aniruddha) having "moistened" Avyakta had a "good sleep" in it together with Padmā, the result being the Sacrificial or Time Lotus springing from Hṛṣikeśa's navel and Brahmān and Sarasvatī (Hiranyagarbha and his Śakti) springing from the Lotus.

⁴ Prasna S. II, 21 fl. mentions some more events intervening here: Brahmān, desirous to know his origin, makes a futile attempt at getting, through the navel, at the cause of the lotus, then meditates for a thousand years, and finally receives from the Puruṣa appearing to him the instrument of creation, namely the Vedas.

and (3) the six Prajāpatīs (Marīci, etc.) from whom all the remaining beings, "movable" and "stationary", descend.

The sources are at variance as to the number and names of the Prajāpatīs, and between these and Brahmān some authorities insert a "Manu". Mahāsanatkumāra Saṃhitā (Indrarātra 6. 20 fl.) describes as follows the origin of an "intramundane tetrad" (*antarāṇḍasthītā caturmūrti*) corresponding to the four Vyūhas: the first of the Prajāpatīs, Dakṣa, had a mind-born son, Acyuta (Vāsudeva), whose mind-born son was Saṃkarṣaṇa, called Rudra (Śiva), whose mind-born son was Pradyumna, whose mind-born son was Aniruddha.¹

There are, as will be understood from the above, more attempts than one at combining the very ancient story about the Golden Egg giving birth to god Brahmān with the later one of the lotus springing from the navel of Padmanābha and these again with the theory of the Tattvas; as there are also, of course, more authorities than one dispensing advantageously with either the navel or the lotus or both in explaining the origin of the Cosmic Egg.²

The plurality of Brahmāṇḍas³ is emphasized in several Saṃhitās. "Of such Eggs", says Viṣvaksena S. (*loc. cit.*, p. 66), "there are thousands of thousands, or even myriads of them", and more. They are

¹ According to this text there are three Śivas, namely: (1) the Vyūha Saṃkarṣaṇa; (2) the son of Brahmān and father of the Rudras; (3) the grandson of Dakṣa; further three Brahmāns, namely: (1) the Vyūha Pradyumna; (2) the "first of Gross Creation" and "Lord of the Egg"; and (3) the great-grandson of Dakṣa.

² Our Saṃhitā admits (VIII, 2 fl.) that some derive creation from the Egg, others from the Lotus.

³ Referred to already in a Vedic text, namely Bāṣkalamantra Upaniṣad (9): *Mama pratīṣṭhā bhūva āṇḍakośāḥ*.

invariably described as consisting of fourteen spheres (*loka*) surrounded by seven enclosures (*āvāraṇa*)¹; and they are said to arise simultaneously like bubbles of water.²

Owing, no doubt, to conflicting statements in the *Samhitās* themselves, the beginning of individual life within the Egg has become a problem to the expounders of the *Pāñcarātra*.³ The "mediate creation" (*sadvārikā sṛṣṭi*), that is the creation mediated by God Brahman, and the "immediate creation" (*advārikā sṛṣṭi*) preceding it, are held to be the same, by the scholiasts, as what is commonly understood, in Indian philosophy, by "individual creation" (*vyāṣṭi-sṛṣṭi*) and "collective creation" (*samaṣṭi-sṛṣṭi*) respectively. But according to Viṣvaksena *Samhitā* (*loc. cit.*, pp. 126-129) the offspring of the Manus, namely the so-called Pure Group (*suddha-varga*), is the creation of Pradyumna, while the Mixed group (*misra-varga*) of souls [dominated by *Rajas* or *Tamas*] is created by Aniruddha through god Brahman; from which it seems to follow that the Pure Group, in spite of its being *vyāṣṭi*, is *advārikā*. The contradiction appears also in the present *Samhitā* which says, in *adhyāya* 7, that the Manus, who — like the *Devatās*, etc. — have emerged as individuals from the *Kūṭastha Puruṣa* (sl. 58), have "many lineages by which has been spread this whole [mankind]" (sl. 51) including those who, owing to the deteriorating progress of the *Yugas*, have become addicted to selfish

¹ See for instance *Pādma Tantra* I, *adhyāyas* 10 to 12.

² *Tattvatraya*, ed. p. 66.

³ See Varavaramuni's comm. on *Tattvatraya*, ed. p. 118.

⁴ Who, in evolving the contents of the Egg, is regarded as "consisting of the totality of bound souls" (*baddhātma-umaṣṭi-rūpa*); *Tattvatraya*, ed. p. 65 comm., and elsewhere.

wishes (sl. 53); but then, in adhyāya 15, confronts the "descendants of the Manus" (*manu-santati-jāh*, sl. 7) with "those who have sprung from the mouth, etc., of Brahman (*brahma-mukhād-udgatāh*, sl. 20)." A clue to the solution of the riddle is furnished by the version contained in Pādma Tantra (I, l. 88 fl.) and Viṣṇutilaka (l. 146 fl.), though in some particulars it is not likely that it represents the original theory. It runs as follows: The original religion (*ādya dharma*, to wit the Pāñcarātra) was first, in the Kṛta age, proclaimed by god Brahman to "the sages of sharpened vows"¹ who taught it to their disciples with the result that, everybody following the Pāñcarātra, people were liberated [or went to heaven, Viṣṇutilaka], so that "hell became naught and a great decrease of creation took place (*srṣṭi-leśayo mahān āsit*). Brahman, consequently, felt uneasy, went to the Lord, and, on the latter's kind inquiry as to how the world was progressing under his rule, replied: "What shall I say, O Lord of gods! All men, being full of faith and masters of their senses, sacrifice as prescribed in the Great Secret; and so they go to the Place of Viṣṇu from which there is no return. There is [now] no heaven and no hell, neither birth nor death."² This, however, was against the plan of the Lord, and so He started, with the help of Brahman, Kapila, and Śiva, five more systems (Yoga, Sāṃkhya, Bauddha, Jaina, and Śaiva) conflicting with each other and the Pāñcarātra "for the bewilderment of men". Now, the sloka containing the phrase "a great decrease of creation took place" is also in Viṣvaksena Saṃhitā

¹ The Citrasākhāndius appear to be meant.

² That is, no death followed by re-birth.

(*loc. cit.*, p. 129), which shows that that *Samhitā*, although deriving the Pure Group from Pradyumna and the Mixed Group from Aniruddha and Brahman, must have held a view similar to the above as regards the mutual relation of the two. Our present *Samhitā* speaks twice (6. 13; 7. 47-48) about the Manus passing from Pradyumna's care to that of Aniruddha, and once about their withdrawal into Aniruddha, in the period of *Pralaya* (4. 50 fl.). This suggests the idea that, while both classes of souls are introduced into the Egg by Aniruddha (*Padmanābha*), the pure ones only are so introduced directly, the impure ones, however, indirectly and later, namely, by being first transferred to Brahman. For, it must be remembered that the great majority of unliberated souls left over from the preceding *Kalpa* and now to be reborn enter of necessity this new period of their *samsāra* with a remainder of good and bad *Karman*, or only the latter, that is as "impure" beings. These, evidently, must be re-introduced into earthly life by the highest representative of *Rajas*, that is the god Brahman; and they cannot appear on earth as long as the first *Yuga*, in which *Sattva* prevails, is not over. The small minority, on the other hand, in whom *Sattva* predominates, must for this very reason, in order to terminate their career, appear in the first *Yuga* without passing through Brahman: the Lord, therefore, says *Viṣvaksena Samhitā* (*loc. cit.*, p. 129), creates "with the bit of good *Karman*" (*sukṛta-leśena*) they have left, and for which they must still receive an earthly reward, the *suddha-sarga*.¹ These pure beings of the *Kṛta* age, then, correspond to the *Anāgāmins* [and *Sakṛdāgāmins*] of Buddhism, that is

¹ "Pure Creation" or "Pure Group", the word *sarga* being also a synonym of *varga* used elsewhere in this connection.

those almost perfect beings who return for one life [or two lives] only, because they have very nearly reached Liberation in the preceding one. And so, if it is said that at the end of the Kṛta Yuga the "descendants" of the Manus began to deteriorate, this can only refer to their bodily descendants among whom the pure souls were more and more disappearing (having reached Liberation), while the gaps were being filled by Brahman with the better specimens of the "mixed" ones, the process going on, in this way, in a descending line, until in the Kali age even the most depraved find their chance for reincarnation.

The four hundred Mānavas of the Ahirbudhnya Samhitā have become eight hundred "Viṣṇus" in Mahāsanatkumāra Samhitā (Indrarātra, sixth adhyāya) which even enumerates the names of them all, locating them in eight ideal realms situated in the eight regions¹. Among those eight hundred Viṣṇus, each of whom is the chief (*nāyaka*) of a thousand subjects (*cf.* the Mānava-mānavas of our Samhitā), there are the original three hundred twice born Mānavas, while the group of original Sūdras has been replaced by five mixed groups in such a way as to eliminate altogether the male Sūdras. The

¹ (1) Brāhmaṇas only live in the eastern realm called Sīvāroha; (2) children (descendants) of Brāhmaṇa fathers and Kṣatriya mothers in the Rāma world of the south-east; (3) Kṣatriyas in the Nārasipha world of the south; (4) children of Kṣatriya fathers and Vaiśya mothers in the south-western region (name missing); (5) Vaiśyas in Sridhara Loka of the west; (6) children of Brāhmaṇa fathers and Vaiśya mothers in Vāmana Loka of the north-east; (7) children of Brāhmaṇa fathers and Sūdra mothers in Hayasīrṣa Loka of the north; and (8) children of Kṣatriya fathers and Sūdra mothers in Vāsudeva Loka of the north-east. — The names of the Viṣṇus are partly very strange. For example, Jiravrajin, Soka, Viśāda, Lobha, Pañcātman, and Bāhyātman are names of north-western Viṣṇus; and Bhūta, Bhavya, Bhaviṣyat, Deha, Dehavat, and Sariraśāna some names from Hayasīrṣa Loka.

chapter closes by mentioning that there are innumerable Viṣṇus in Kapila Loka.¹

6. NATURE AND DESTINY OF THE SOUL

When the Day of the Lord has expired and the Great Dissolution is finished², nothing remains but the Waters of Infinity and, floating on them, on the leaf of a banian-tree (*vaṭa-pattra*), a babe whose name is "the Void" (*śūnya*). The babe is Viṣṇu, the sleepless one, sleeping the sleep of Yoga³. In His "womb" (*kukṣi*) are sleeping all the souls: in the upper part the liberated ones (*mukta*); in the middle part those who [owing to Sattva prevailing in them] are "fit for Liberation" (*mukti-yogya*); then, near the navel⁴, the "ever-bound" (*nitya-baddha*), and, in the region of the loins, those who [on account of the predominance, in them, of Tamas] are "fit for Darkness" (*tamo-yogya*).⁵ The souls in this condition are called Nāras.⁶

The above account, though taken from a fairly recent work⁷, contains undoubtedly the original orthodox

¹ For "Kapila Viṣṇu", the teacher of the Nāgas in Pātāla, see *Pādma Tantra* I, 1. 23, and *Viṣṇuṭilaka* II, 170 fl. The inhabitants of the netherworlds (*Atala*, etc.) are said to be so happy as to have no longing for heaven (*Viṣṇuṭilaka* II, 170).

² The following, abbreviated from *P. Prakāśa* S. I, first *adhyāya*, will be recognized as an elaboration of the story of Mārkaṇḍeya referred to above in connection with the twenty-seventh *Avatāra* (described *Ahimb. Samh.* LVI, 28-29).

³ *Yoga-nidrām upāgato vinidro'svapad Iśvaraḥ*, *P. Prakāśa* S. I, 1. 40.

⁴ From which will spring the Lotus and the representative of *Rajas*, god *Brahmān*; cf. above, section 5.

⁵ *P. Prakāśa* S. I, 1. 11 fl. (corrupt); 5. 10-11; etc.

⁶ *Ibid.*, sl. 14. Cf. the explanation of the name *Nārāyaṇa* in *Manu Smṛti* I, 10.

⁷ *P. Prakāśa* S. mentions *Srīraṅga* and *Veākaṭeṣa*, further the three classes of *Purāṇas*, and, as belonging to the *Sāttvic* class, the *Bhāgavata* (I, 12. 7; 4, 32).

view of the Pāñcarātra as to the fate of the souls during the Great Night; and it is an important document chiefly because it clearly shows that the Liberation taught in the Pāñcarātra is not, as might be understood from certain passages, something like the Gradual Liberation (*krama-mukti*) of the Advaitins in which the soul finally, together with the god Brahman, loses its individuality. The Pāñcarātra says indeed, using the Advaitic term, that the soul "becomes one" (*ekī-bhavati*) with the Lord in Liberation and then once more in the Great Dissolution; but the meaning of this is, in the former case, that the soul joins the Lord¹ in Vaikuṇṭha, and, in the latter case, that it becomes latent in Him when Vaikuṇṭha with everything else is temporarily withdrawn.²

It is this very view to which we are led by the Ahir-budhnya Saṃhitā; for, if the soul is a part of Lakṣmī³, it cannot, of course, "become one with the Lord" in any higher sense than that of the "perfect embrace" of the divine couple⁴ from which the two emerge again as separate beings as soon as the time for creation has come.

¹ More exactly: His heavenly form, the Para Vāsudeva.

² The case of Brahman is peculiar. He ought to join the liberated in Vaikuṇṭha (the withdrawal of which, at Pralaya, is later than that of the Egg). But we can find no reference to this. The Saṃhitās speak of the end of his life but evidently avoid mentioning his "death" or "liberation". Possibly this has something to do with the difficulty, or impossibility, of deciding to what extent he is a bound soul and to what an Avatāra of Viṣṇu.—The withdrawal of Vaikuṇṭha is mentioned in P. Prakāśa S. I, l. 14: *Vaikuṇṭhādivihāraṃ ca hīva*. Note also the following saying, *ibid.*, sl. 18: "That which is called Dissolution by the wise, is not really Dissolution."

³ Or a "contraction" of Lakṣmī, as the Goddess herself calls it in Lakṣmī Tantra VI, 36: *pramūtā cetanaḥ prokto, mat-saṃkocaḥ sa ucyate*.

⁴ See below our résumé of adhyāya IV.

The difficulty, however, is that there are numerous passages in the *Samhitās* where this view is apparently set aside. For, although animate and inanimate nature, soul and body, subject and object¹, are declared to be two aspects or parts of the one *Bhūti Śakti*, still the idea, obtaining since the earliest times in Indian philosophy, of a closer relationship of the soul than of matter with God is by no means absent in our *Samhitās* and quite conspicuous, naturally, in those *Samhitās* which operate either not at all or but a little with *Lakṣmī* as a philosophical principle. And it is this idea, in all probability, which is ultimately responsible for the intrusion into the *Pāñcarātra* of certain foreign elements such as those we will now point out.

If creation means re-appearing, then there seems to be no room for the question of a first beginning or original sin. Still the question is asked and answered in more than one text, for instance in the following way in chapter 14 of *Ahīrbudhnya Samhitā*.

In addition to the three well-known powers of creation, preservation, and destruction, the Lord has two more *Śaktis* called *Nigraha* (or *Tirodhāna*) and *Anugraha*, by means of which he prepares and pre-determines the soul for bondage or liberation respectively. The entering of the soul into the wheel of births, commonly accounted for by its own previous acts, is here explained by the Lord's "obscuring" its divine nature through reducing its original omnipresence, omniscience, and omnipotence, so as to make it (1) "atomic", (2) "little-knowing", and (3) "little-achieving". *Vice versa*, those three restrictions called Taints or Fetters

¹ *Oetana*—*cetya*, *dehīm*—*deha*, *bhoktr*—*bhogyā* (V, 9 fl.).

may again be cancelled through the divine grace (*anugraha*).¹

Now, whether the five Śaktis mentioned are the Lord's or Lakṣmī's², the fact is undeniable, I believe, that the soul is not here regarded as a mere portion of Lakṣmī³ but as a third principle distinct from both Vāsudeva and Matter (or Lakṣmī respectively), — just as in those passages (45.8-4; 38.13; etc.) which speak of Avidyā or Māyā as "veiling" the true nature of the *jīva* and the *para* (soul and God). That is to say: we have here nearly the standpoint described in Viṣṇu-tilaka in the words (2.34-35): "There is a triad here: Brāhman, Jīva (soul), and Jagat (world); Brāhman is a mass (*rāsi*) of Light, Jagat a mass of elements (*bhūta*), and Jīva a mass of knowledge."

Secondly, the conclusion seems to be inevitable that the liberated soul is not only omniscient, as it is, indeed, often described to be, but also omnipotent and even omnipresent. As for its omnipotence, this word may here have the restricted meaning in which it is elsewhere used with regard to the liberated (who cannot interfere with or participate in the governance of the world); but the question remains: how can the liberated soul be omnipresent (*vibhu*), which is the less intelligible as in chapter 6 (sl. 27) it has been described as "of the

¹ For further particulars see our résumé of the adhyāya, below, next chapter.

² They are, indeed, also described as the *pañca kṛtyāni* of the Devi, for instance in I, 2 and XXI, 12 of Ahirbudhnya Sāphitā.

³ From the general standpoint of our Sāphitā we should have to say that Viṣṇu causes Lakṣmī to act with one part of herself (namely Nigraha, etc.) upon another part (the soul), thus bringing the latter into connection with a third part of herself (namely matter)! — (which would reduce the cosmic process to something like a physiological disturbance in the Goddess.)

size of a mote" (*trasareṇu-pramāṇa*)? The scholastic view¹, namely that the liberated soul, though essentially atomic (like the bound one), is omnipresent in that its consciousness is "ever omnipresent" (*sadā-vibhu*) — the latter being related to the former as the light spread in a room to the lamp (or flame) from which it radiates — is a plausible explanation of the soul-mote and its millions of rays (2. 27), but must be rejected in the present case where omnipresence is expressly distinguished from omniscience. As a matter of fact, nothing remains but to admit that we have here a Śaiva tenet in Vaiṣṇava garb. For, the Śaivas do teach that the souls are naturally "omnipresent"², that is: not hampered by space, though limited, while in bondage, by *niyati* or spatial restriction.³ The latter, as we know already⁴, is one of the five (or, including *Māyā*, six) limitations of the soul called Kañcukas, and the connection of our chapter (14) with these is the more evident as the two other Taints, to wit those of "Little-knowing" and "Little-achieving" are absolutely identical with the Kañcukas called *Vidyā* and *Kālā*.⁵ The surprising solution of the problem, then, is that in our passage the word *anu* does not mean "atomic" but "small, little" in the sense of "spatially restricted" and as the opposite

¹ Tattvatraya, ed. p. 35; Yat Dīp., ed. pp. 69 and 75.

² *Vibhu, an-anu, vyāpaka*: Sarvadarśana Saṃgraha, Poona ed. p. 69 (ll. 23, 13); Pratyabhijñā Hrdaya, Srinagar ed. p. 22; etc.

³ Pratyabhijñā Hrdaya, loc. cit., and elsewhere.

⁴ See above pp. 63, 64. The Pāñcarātra doctrine of the *Māyā* Kośa was developed by the Śaivas into the theory of the Kañcukas, after which the latter influenced the Pāñcarātra.

⁵ The five Kañcukas called *kālā*, *vidyā*, *rāga*, *kāla*, and *niyati* are said to result from the "contraction" of *sarvakartṛtva*, *sarvajñatva*, *pūṇatva*, *nityatva*, and *vyāpakatva* respectively; Pratyabhijñā Hrdaya, loc. cit.

of that which is, not so much omnipresent, as beyond space.¹

The relation between the *jīva* and the *para* (individual and highest soul) is, in several Sāṃhitās, described in a language so thoroughly Advaitic² that an influence from that quarter is, indeed, beyond question, even admitting that several such passages may be mere echoes of those (seemingly or really) Advaitic passages of the Bhagavad Gītā such as 13.27 fl. of the latter work. However, with one or two exceptions, the said borrowing will always be found to be a merely formal one, which is only to be expected, considering that the general trend of the Pāñcarātra is clearly non-Advaitic.

The most perplexing passages of this sort are perhaps to be found in Pādma Tantra. In one of them (I, 4. 14-15) Brahman puts the straight question: "What is the difference, O Highest Spirit, between Thee and the liberated soul?" to which the Lord answers no less directly: "They (the liberated) become I; there is no difference whatever." This seems to be plain Advaita, but the answer goes on: "As I live (*viharāmi*), just so live the liberated souls", which immediately brings back the idea of plurality, and so

¹ Professor Rehmke of Greifswald, teaching (in his book *Die Seele des Menschen*) this "*ubiquitas* of the soul", namely that "the soul is nowhere in the strictest meaning of the word", admits that it is logically possible from this standpoint (though not probable) that one soul should be simultaneously connected with several bodies, — which comes curiously near to the Pāñcarātra ideas about liberated souls and Yogins (see above, section 2). Should not also in the Sāṃkhya, Mīmāṃsā, and Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika the doctrine of the *vibhūta* of the soul originally mean this *ubiquitas* and not "omnipresence" as it is always interpreted? For an exhaustive definition of the concept in the Śaiva sense see Chatterji, Kashmir Shaivism, p. 77: "Unrestricted access to", etc.

² Particularly in the treatment of Yoga; cf. below, in part III, our résumé of chapter 31 of Ahirbudhnyā Sāṃhitā.

renders it at least possible that the Lord is meant to say: "They become like Me, except, of course, with regard to the governance of the world." For, all Pāñcarātra Samhitās recognize the existence of the Nityas or "ever-free" beings (Viṣvaksena, etc.)¹ and cannot, therefore, admit that a previously bound soul should become more inseparably united with the Lord than these are. In Viṣṇutilaka, which is closely related to Pādma Tantra², and which also uses the phrases "he will become Brāhman", "is absorbed in the Highest Brāhman", etc., this union is declared to be one with the Kaustubha of the Lord³ and is further referred to as follows: "Just as gold, in the midst of fire, shines separately, as though it were not in contact [with the fire], even so he who is clinging to Brāhman (*Brāhmaṇi lagna*) is seen to exist in the form of a gem (*maṇi*)"⁴; "He who has become attached to the Jewel of gems (*maṇi-ratna*, the Kaustubha) is said to have attained identity [with the Lord]"⁵.

In another passage of Pādma Tantra (I, 6. 18 fl.) the great problem is stated with unusual precision: "Scripture emphasizes the oneness of the highest Self and the one called Kṣetrajña (Knower-of-the-field, the soul); [but] the plurality of this Kṣetrajña is proved by the diversity of bodies." Three well-known Advaitic images

¹ See above pp. 56 fl. In Pādma Tantra they are mentioned, for instance in I, 2.35 fl.

² And even one of its sources, to judge from the fact that it is mentioned as No. 6 in the Samhitā list of Pādma Tantra. The mutual relation of the two is, however, not quite clear.

³ I, 33; I, 114; etc.

⁴ II, 30; cf. above, pp. 58, 59.

⁵ Viṣṇutilaka II, 100. The soul in itself, that is in its natural form, is often compared with a gem.

⁶ *Maṇiratne vilagnasya sūryajyagatir ucyate*; II, 54, *ibid.*

are used to illustrate the relation of the One and the many: the pot in the water, the pot in the air, and the one figure reflected in many mirrors.¹ Yet, none of these (as shown by the rest of the chapter) is used in the Advaitic sense: God as the Inner Ruler pervades the soul, while He is, of course, also outside it; and the reflected images proceed from their original like the rays from the sun: "Just as, by means of gates of various kinds, people go forth from a town, even so the souls go forth from Brāhman — this is called Creation; and as, through those gates, the inhabitants of that town enter it again, just so [the souls] go [back] to that Brāhman — this is called Withdrawal."² It may be objected that the rays sent out and again withdrawn by the sun³ have no separate existence in the sun itself, but this is not the common Indian, or, at any rate, not the Pāñcarātra view; and even the Aupaniṣadic image of the rivers entering the ocean⁴ means for the Pāñcarātrin only that in Liberation the souls become practically but not really one.⁵

The conclusion to be drawn from all this is: that, although the language of the Advaita is occasionally met with in the Pāñcarātra Saṃhitās, the chief characteristic of that philosophy, namely its illusionism (*māyā-vāda*), is altogether absent from them.

¹ The first and second images occur in Maitreya Upaniṣad II, 18 (see my edition of the Minor Upaniṣads, vol. I, p. 118); for an elaboration of the second see Gaṇḍapāda's Maṇḍūkya Kārikā III, 3 fl.; the third is a transformation of the image found, in Brahmanbindu Upaniṣad 12 and other texts, of the one moon and its many reflections in the tank.

² Viṣṇutīlaka II, 95 fl., being an elaboration (if not the original) of Pādma Tantra I, 6, 43-44.

³ Pādma Tantra I, 6, 24.

⁴ *Ibid.* I, 6, 51-52, referring to Yoga (=temporal Liberation).

⁵ That the famous Gītā passage *Mamaivāṃso*, etc. (XV, 7) is also to be understood in this sense, can be gathered for instance from Yat. Dip., ed. p. 74, where the teaching of Yādavaprakāśa, namely "*Brahmāṃso jīvāḥ*", is rejected as erroneous.

III. THE AHIRBUDHNYA SAMHITA

THE selection, for publication, of the Ahirbudhnya Samhitā was determined by the consideration that the Samhitā to be published as an introduction to the Pāñcarātra should be (1) one of the older Samhitās; (2) one of the Samhitās to an appreciable extent, or exclusively, concerned with the theoretical part of the system; and (3) a Samhitā of which a sufficient number of manuscripts was available to ensure the production of a practically complete and reliable text. The Ahirbudhnya Samhitā was not only found to fulfil these conditions but moreover to be a work of unusual interest and striking originality.

1. THE MANUSCRIPT MATERIAL

With what success certain Sanskrit works are still being kept secret in India, is shown by the fact that for editing the present Samhitā, which is not represented in a single European library, no less than six (nine) MSS. could be obtained within three years. Unfortunately, as can be seen from a few common omissions and errors, all of these MSS. go back to one already corrupted original. Still, on the whole the Samhitā is well preserved. The two oldest and best MSS. are those called E and D. The former is a Grantha MS. from Kalale in Mysore, the latter a MS. written in the Malayālam character and belonging to H. H. the Mahārāja of Travancore. E is more accurate than D. From E descend the four Melkote MSS. F to H, all of them written in

Grantha characters and so completely identical that the common symbol F could be used for them. From D (or a similar MS.) descend C, A, and B (in this order); C being the Adyar Library paper MS. in Grantha characters (with large omissions), A the Adyar Library palm-leaf MS. in Grantha characters, and B the Telugu MS. belonging to the Mysore Government. The badly damaged Tanjore MS. described in Burnell's catalogue could not be borrowed and was, on inspection, found to be not worth taking into account.

2. NAME OF THE SAMHITĀ.

As a rule one of the eleven Rudras is understood by Ahirbudhnya. In our Samhitā, however, this is a name of Śiva himself in his Sāttvic form, as the teacher of liberating knowledge, as which he appears for instance in Jābāla Upaniṣad.¹

How he came to be called by this name, must, I fear, remain a problem². The "serpent (*ahi*) of the bottom (*budhna*)", in the Veda an atmospheric god (mostly associated with Aja Ekapād, another being of this kind), seems to belong to a number of minor deities who amalgamated with Rudra-Śiva in such a way that their character and name became some particular aspect of that god. If "in later Vedic texts Ahi budhnya is allegorically connected with Agni Gārha-patya"³, this certainly shows that he was a beneficial being, not a malevolent one like Ahi Vṛtra, and this is

¹ In the Purāṇas cf. such passages as Pādma Purāṇa LXXXI, 5 where Śiva is addressed: *Bhagavad-dharma-tattva-jña*.

² Notwithstanding the explanation attempted on pp. 3 fl. of the Sanskrit preface to our edition.

³ Macdonell, *Vedic Mythology*, p. 73.

particularly clear in a passage of the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa which may be directly connected with the Pāficarātra view of Ahirbudhnya, namely the passage 3. 36 running as follows¹: "Prajāpati, after having sprinkled the creatures with water, thought that they (the creatures) were his own. He provided them with an invisible lustre through Ahirbudhnya".²

3. PROVENIENCE AND AGE

It has already been stated³ that one stanza of Ahirbudhnya Saphitā is evidently quoted by Utpala Vaiṣṇava in his Spandapradīpikā. This would, of course, prove that the Saphitā (like Jayākhyā S. mentioned in the latter and also in Utpala's work) must have once existed in Kasmīr. That it was actually composed in that country, must be concluded from two other passages, namely 26. 78 and 45. 88, recommending, or mentioning respectively, the wearing, as an amulet, of a certain diagram (*yantra*) drawn on a sheet of birch-bark (*bhūrja-pattra*). Birch-bark, as is well known, was the writing-material of ancient Kasmīr. In chapter 39 we read (sl. 23): "He shines like the sun freed from the confinement (or obstruction) by *hima*", which evidently refers to the sun rising from behind the snow-mountains (*hima*), that is to a sunrise in the Kasmīr-valley. A third indication of the

¹ In Haug's translation.

² Sāyana's remark that by the two names Ahi and Budhnya "a particular kind of fire" (the Gārhapatya) is meant, need not be accepted. Perhaps, however, it is noteworthy that a hymn in Vājasaneyi Saphitā (V, 33) which also mentions Ahirbudhnya (= Gārhapatya agni, comm.), contains the name of Viṣṇu five times in the first Mantra and no less than twenty-four times afterwards, that is, more often than that of any other deity.

³ Above p. 18.

Kāsmīrian origin of our Saṃhitā is probably the story of Mukṭāpīḍa told in the forty-eighth adhyāya. A prince of this name is not known from any other work (according to B. and R.'s dictionary) than the famous Kāsmīrian chronicle, the Rāja Taraṅgiṇī (4. 42).

About the age of the Saṃhitā hardly anything more can be said with certainty than that it belongs to that class of Saṃhitās for which we have fixed the eighth century A. D. as the *terminus ad quem*.¹ The only passage which might seem to indicate a later date, is the stanza 45.18 where king Kusadhvaṃja says to his teacher: "From thee have I obtained the Higher Science and also the Lower one; and by the fire of the Higher Science all my Karman has been burnt up." It is difficult to read this without thinking of Śāṅkarācārya's system. But Kusadhvaṃja, being a Pāñcarātrin, refers, of course, to the two "methods" (*rīti*) described in the fifteenth adhyāya, distinguishing between the Veda and the inferior systems on the one hand, and the Pāñcarātra on the other. The distinction is based on that in the Bhagavad-Gītā between the orthodox who swear on the Vedas and the enlightened ones who worship the Lord.² Nor does the definition of *avidyā* (ignorance), in 45. 3-4,

¹ Above p. 19.

² The Pāñcarātrins have ever since emphasized this distinction, which is one of the chief causes of their having been decried as heretics until the present day. The contrast between the two classes has been so much deepened by them that the Vaidikas are actually made despisers of the Lord, e.g., in the following śloka of Viṣvaksena S. (*loc. cit.* p. 126; cf. Bhag.-Gītā II, 42 fl.):

*Trayīmārgeṣu niṣṇātāḥ phalavāde ramanti te |
devūḍin eva manvānā na ca mām manire param ||*

But *trayī* (as, indeed, *veda* in the Gītā) is never meant to include the Upaniṣads, as can be seen from Viṣvaksena S. calling the two classes *veda-niṣṇātāḥ* and *vedānta-niṣṇātāḥ*. The idea of the fire of true knowledge destroying karman is, of course, also quite familiar to the Gītā (see, for instance IV, 37).

as the power obscuring the real nature (*paraṃ rūpaṃ*) of the *jīvātman* and the *paramātman* necessarily point to Śaṅkara's Advaita, because in the Pāñcarātra the Nigraha or Tirodhāna Śakti is the cause of the "obscuratation" of the souls but not of their plurality.¹ In both these cases, however, there remains, of course, the possibility of Advaitic terms and phrases (earlier perhaps than Śaṅkara) having been adopted by the Pāñcarātra. If, on the other hand, there is in our Saṃhitā an indication of an earlier date than the one mentioned, it would seem to be the fact that the "sixty topics" of the older Sāṃkhya are enumerated in it.² For, these sixty topics, as I have shown elsewhere³, could no longer be enumerated by the Sāṃkhyas themselves as early as the fifth century A. D. The brilliant Sāṃkhya Kārikā of Īśvara Kṛṣṇa having by that time completely eclipsed the older Sāṃkhya, no later author could speak of the latter as though it were the only existing one, as does our Saṃhitā.⁴ As for the *terminus a quo* of the latter, I venture to say that a work in which, as, apparently, in the eighth chapter of the Ahirbudhnya

¹ See above, p. 88 fl.

² See, below, our résumé of the twelfth adhyāya.

³ In the article *Das Śaṣṭitantra* in the *Journal of the German Oriental Society* for 1914, p. 101.

⁴ Not only in the adhyāya concerned. Elsewhere too, when the Sāṃkhya is briefly characterized, it is stated to teach the three [or four] principles: time, soul, and [unmanifest and manifest] matter; see, for instance 55. 46: *Sāṃkhya-kāla-jīva-trayi-trayam* (for *trayi=vidyā=prakṛti* cf. above pp. 62, 69). Śaṅkarācārya mentions both the "successors of the Sāṃkhya-Yoga" (*sāṃkhyayoga-vyapāśrayāḥ*) and the "atheistic" Sāṃkhyas (comm. on Brahmasūtras II, 2. 37 fl. and II, 2. 1 fl.), but regards as the three chief principles of the former God, soul, and matter; which shows that, while the Śaṣṭitantra did no longer exist at his time, the Sāṃkhya-Yoga of the Mahābhārata had yet survived in another (more orthodox) form, the so-called Vaidika Sāṃkhya of later authors.

Saṃhitā¹, and as in Śaṅkara's Brahmasūtra Bhāṣya (*ad* II, 2. 18.), Buddhism is understood to be divided into the three great schools of the Skandhavādins (Sarvāstivavādins, S.), Vijñānavādins, and Śūnyavādins, cannot well have been written until some time after the Mahāyāna had established itself, say : after 300 A. D.

4. CONTENTS OF THE SAṂHITA

Examining the Ahirbudhnya Saṃhitā with regard to the ten chief subjects into which, as stated at the end of part I of this Introduction, the subject-matter of the Pāñcarātra can be divided², we find that there is nothing in it about the tenth subject, and only a few occasional contributions to the sixth and seventh; that there are: one chapter on sociological matters, one on initiation and two on worship (eighth subject), also two on Yoga; and that the science of diagrams, etc., is represented by some eight chapters, while subjects 1, 2, and 4 occupy each of them about one-fourth of the Saṃhitā, subject 1 not being confined to chapters 1 to 14 but naturally also often referred to in the rest of the work. Roughly speaking we may say that half of the Saṃhitā deals with occultism, theoretical and practical, one fourth with philosophy, and one fourth with the remaining subjects.

Chapter 1. The Saṃhitā opens, after a salutation to the Lord and His consort, with a dialogue between the two Ṛṣis Bharadvāja and Durvāsas, the

¹ See, below, our résumé. There is one more direct reference to Buddhism in our Saṃhitā, namely in XXXIII, 17, where the Lord is stated to be worshipped as Buddha by the Bauddhas.

² See p. 26.

latter of whom is asked by the former for an explanation of that mysterious discus¹ of Viṣṇu called the Sudarsana. On many occasions — in connection with the divine weapons (*astra*), powers (*śakti*), and magic formulas (*mantra*) — the dependence on the Sudarsana having been mentioned, Bharadvāja wants to know :

“ Due to whom [or what] is its majesty ? Is it innate or created ? What is that Sudarsana ? What is the meaning ascribed to the word ? What work does it perform ? How does it pervade the universe ? Who are the Vyūhas, how many and of what kind, that have sprung from it, O sage ? And for what purpose do they exist, and of what nature is He to whom they belong (the *vyūhin*) ? And of what kind is its (the Sudarsana's) connection with Viṣṇu supposed to be ? Is it (the Sudarsana) necessarily and always found in connection with Him [alone] or elsewhere too ? This is the doubt which has arisen in me from the perusal of various Śāstras. Solve it, O holy one ! I have duly approached thee. Teach me, master ! ”

Durvāsa answers that this is a common doubt among the wise, and that its solution was once obtained by Nārada from the only one in this world who is able to solve it, namely the great god Śiva [who in the form of Ahirbudhnya is] the highest representative of knowledge.²

¹ *Cakra* “wheel”, a favourite symbol already in the Vedas and probably long before. The word is used in conjunction with *cakrin* “discus-bearer”, to wit Viṣṇu, in the first stanza of this chapter.

² Still dependent for the latter on Saṃkarṣaṇa, his teacher, see II, 3. It may be surprising that in Nārada's hymn in this chapter (as also in XXXV, 51-51) Ahirbudhnya, a bound soul, is praised as the absolute one (*svatantra*), ever-satisfied one (*nitya-trpta*), creator and destroyer of the universe, etc.; but it should be remembered : first, that he is a secondary Avatāra, and secondly, that this sort of hymns is simply propagating that *bona fide* exaggeration of the ancient Sūktas which moved Max Müller to invent the name henotheism for the religion of the Vedic bards.

Nārada had been induced to approach Śiva because he had observed the amazing strength of the Sudarsana in Viṣṇu's fight with the demon Kālanemi.¹ Duvāsas agrees to impart to Bharadvāja this dialogue between Nārada and Ahirbudhnya, that is, the Ahirbudhnya Samhitā. But he only agreed to give it in an abridged form: the extent of the original Samhitā was two-hundred and forty chapters; then, time having advanced and human capacity deteriorated, it was reduced, "for the benefit of men", to half the original, and now a further abridgment to only sixty chapters had become necessary.²

Chapter 2. Explanation of the word Sudarsana (śloka 7 to 9): it denotes Viṣṇu's Will-to-be (*syām iti samkalpa*)³, *darsana* (seeing, sight) meaning *prekṣana* (prospective thought)⁴, and *su* (well, perfectly) expressing its being unimpeded by time and space. Everything in the world being dependent on the Sudarsana, the latter's power is, of course, natural (*sāmsiddhika*, sl. 12) and not created. Two of Nārada's questions are herewith answered. After some more questions of Nārada (to be answered in the course of the

¹ After which Viṣṇu vanished so that Nārada had no means of applying to Him directly, whereas Śiva, as a mundane being with his residence on the Kailāsa, was, on the contrary, accessible to him.

² In the same way Pādma Samhitā claims to have been reduced from 15 millions to 500,000, then to 100,000, and finally to 10,000 stanzas.

³ *Syām*=*bahu syām*; cf. the beginning of adhyāya XXX.

⁴ The divine will is inseparable from wisdom and action; see III, 30. The root *ikṣ* (combined with *pra* in *prekṣana*) is used in this sense in Chāndogya Upaniṣad VI, 2. 3: *Tad aikhṣata bahu syām prajāyeyātī* "That [Brāhman] wished: I will be many, I will be born", which passage is clearly the basis of the above definition. Cf. also Maitrāyaṇa Upaniṣad II, 6 narrating how Prajāpati being tired of his loneliness contemplated himself and by this act became the creator of all beings (*sa ātmānam abhidhyāyat, sa bahvīḥ prajā āsṛjat*).

Samhitā) there follows (sl. 22 fl.) a long explanation of the concept of the "Highest Brāhman", the real nature of which is experienced in Liberation only, and which nobody can hope to attain by his own efforts, even if he would fly upwards in space like the king of birds (Garuḍa) for a thousand years with the velocity of thought. The last section is concerned with the definition of the six Guṇas of God (see above, p. 31 fl.)

Chapter 3. The object of this chapter is to explain the Sudarsana by identifying it with the Kriyā Sakti or active side (force aspect) of the Lord as distinguished from His formal side (matter aspect) called Bhūti Sakti. The chapter opens by explaining the meaning of Sakti: it is the subtle condition (*sūkṣmāvasthā*) or thing-in-itself (*idamitā*) of any existence (*bhāva*), recognizable by its effects only. Each manifestation of life (*bhāva*) has a Sakti inseparably connected with it, but there is also one omnipresent Sakti, the Sakti of God. Lakṣmī is the Lord's "vibration in the form of the world" (*prasphuratā jagannmayā*); she is connected with Him as the moonlight is with the moon, or the sunshine with the sun; different from Him only as an attribute (*dharma*) differs from its bearer (*dharmin*), or existence (*bhāva*) from him who exists (*bhavat*). Many of the names of Lakṣmī are enumerated and explained in sl. 7 to 24. Then, after mentioning that Sakti is twofold and Bhūti Sakti threefold (details of which follow later), the rest of the chapter (sl. 29-56) is occupied with the mutual relation of the two Saktis and the identity of the Kriyā Sakti with the Sudarsana. The Sudarsana is, according to stanza 30, will (*icchā*) embodied in wisdom (*prekṣā*) and resulting in action (*kriyā*).

Chapter 4 turns to "that cause" which, "pervaded by the Sudarsana", "takes to creation", namely the Bhūti Sakti or material cause of the world, in order to explain how that principle, after having been "a cow in the form of clouds" (*megha-rūpiṇī dhenuh*)¹ becomes once more "the non-cow, sapless and withered, called the Non-manifest (*avyakta*)". The *pratīsamācara* "re-absorption" or "in-volution" (= *pralaya*, 5. 1) described here at great length is the exact reversal of the process of creation (described in part II of this Introduction). At the end of the involution the Sakti of Viṣṇu returns to the condition of Brāhman (*brahma-bhāvaṃ vrajati*) in exactly the same way as a conflagration, when there is no more combustible matter, returns to the [latent] condition of fire (*vahni-bhāvaṃ*). "Owing to over-embrace" (*ati-saṃśleṣāt*) the two all-pervading ones, Nārāyaṇa and His Sakti, have become, as it were, a single principle (*ekaṃ tattvaṃ iva*).

Chapters 5 to 7 contain an account of creation which has been fully utilized in part II of this Introduction.

Chapters 8 to 12 endeavour to show the various forms of the activity of the Sudarsana: (1) as the *ādhāra* "base" or "support" of the world during the periods of creation and dissolution (chapters 8 and 9); and (2) as the *pramāṇa* "measure", that is, regulating principle during the period of the continuance of life (*sthiti*) in which it appears as the regulator (a) of things (*artha*) (chapter 10), and (b) of sounds (*śabda*) (chapters 11 and 12).

Chapter 8, before taking up the above subject, answers a question of Nārada as to the diversity of

¹ For "cloud" = Cosmic Egg see above pp. 29 and 78.

philosophic views (ślokas 1 to 23). Nārada complains that there are so many different opinions about creation, some holding that it is effected by three elements¹, others assuming four², again others five³, six⁴, seven⁵, eight⁶, nine⁷, ten, or eleven elements; some tracing it back to an egg⁸, others to a lotus⁹, others again to fire¹⁰, to "another body"¹¹, to knowledge (*vidyā*)¹², or to the Void (*śūnya*)¹³. Ahirbudhnya answers that the variety of opinions has several causes: first, the natural impossibility for human speech to express adequately truths concerning the Absolute; then, that people ignorant of synonyms (*aparyāyavido janāḥ*) often mistake different names for different things; that the intellectual attainments of men differ considerably; and, finally, that God has an infinite number of different aspects one of which only is, generally, grasped and taught by a philosopher. Ahirbudhnya

¹ Fire, water, earth; Chāndogya Upaniṣad VI, 4 fl.

² Earth, water, fire, air; view of a materialistic teacher of the Buddha's time, also apparently of a Buddhist sect (the Jānakas).

³ The four and ether; view of many Upaniṣads and of certain materialists.

⁴ The five and the soul; a view mentioned in the Jain scriptures and called (by the comm.) *ātmaśeṣha-vāda*.

⁵ The four, the soul, and pleasure and pain (regarded as substances); the *saptakāya-vāda* of a rival of the Buddha (Pakudha Kaccāyana) and evidently also of some later philosophers.

⁶ The five, Buddha, Ahankāra, and Manas (Bhagavad Gītā VII, 4), or, possibly, the eight Akṣaras (fire, earth, wind, atmosphere, sun, heaven, moon, stars) enumerated in Mahāsanat Kumāra Samhitā (Indrarātra I, 30 fl).

⁷ The eight and the soul; Bhagavad Gītā VII, 4-5.

⁸ See above pp. 80-81.

⁹ Cf. the theories, in the Upaniṣads, about Tapas, Tejas, Agni, Vaisvānara, and Kālāgni.

¹⁰ That is, "another aggregate [of Skandhas]" or "other Skandhas" (*kāya*—"aggregate" or "trunk, stem"); referring to the Sautrāntika school of Buddhism and its doctrine of the *santati*. That (cf. next note) "another substance" is meant is less likely.

¹¹, ¹² Evidently the two Buddhist schools of the Vijñānavādins and Śūnyavādins are meant,

concludes by mentioning that of the "Brāhmic days" some are pleasant, while others show an excess of rain, war, etc., and then, at the request of Nārada, turns to the question of the *ādhāra* (sl. 34 fl.).

The Sudarsana is the perpetual support (*ādhāra*) of this whole Bhūti or universe [of names-and-forms] which is borne (*dhriyate*) by it just as gems (pearls) are borne by the thread running through them, or as the leaf (betel leaves) by the pin [pierced on which they are offered for sale].¹ The Sudarsana, in upholding the universe, is the Calana Cakra or "Wheel of Motion" (9. 41-42) and as such has a peculiar form in each of the three periods, appearing respectively as the "Wheel of Creation", the "Wheel of Withdrawal", and the "Wheel of Continuance", while each of the three again operates as a whole as well as through a number of minor "wheels" corresponding to the several Tattvas. Then there is, as the counterpart of the Calana Cakra, the Mahārātridhara Cakra or "Wheel carrying the Great Night" which is said to have a single spoke and to be meditated upon by the sages. When creation begins, there appears first the "Wheel of Dawn" having two spokes; then, as the disk of Saṃkarṣaṇa, the "Wheel of Sunrise" having three spokes; then, with Pradyumna, the "Wheel of Lordship" having four spokes; then, with Aniruddha, the "Wheel of Potency" having five spokes; after this the "Wheel of the Seasons" having six spokes and representing the twelve Sub-Vyūhas; then the twelve-spoked "Great Sudarsana Wheel" connected with the Avatāras, chief and secondary ones; and finally

¹ Cf. Chāndogya Upaniṣad II, 23. 3.

² Read (*see conf.*): *vijñātaṃ trikadhārahakam*.

³ Does this mean that there are twenty-four chief Avatāras?

ly a thousand-spoked wheel holding the Highest Heaven. Then (9. 1-9) there follow the wheels engaged in Non-pure Creation, namely: the Pauruṣa Cakra with three spokes¹, and the Sakti Cakra having thirty spokes² and comprehending the Naiyata Cakra (with thirty spokes), the Kāla Cakra (with six spokes), etc., the "Wheel of Space" (with one spoke), the "Wheel of Air" (with two spokes)³, etc., and finally the "Wheel of the Senses" (with eleven spokes).

Chapter 9, after the enumeration mentioned before of the "wheels" of Non-pure Creation, gives a most circumstantial description of the "Wheel of Motion" (creation, continuance, withdrawal; sl. 33) called here Mahāvibhūti Cakra, "the Wheel of the Great Splendour (or: of the Powerful Manifestation)"; and then describes, by means of only five stanzas (36 fl.), the "Wheel of Withdrawal" (Samhṛti Cakra) which does apparently not differ from the (practically indescribable) "Wheel of the Great Night" except in having, like the "Wheel of Great Splendour", an infinite number of spokes. The "Wheel of Great Splendour" is described as wearing a garment variegated by millions of millions of Cosmic Eggs; infinite numbers of Spaces [each pervading a "universe", but] appearing [from this higher point of view] like insignificant specks; crores of crores of Mahats which are *a-mahat* (not great); etc. etc. Among the images there is the one mentioned above (part II, section 1, end) of the clouds, and the following bold

¹ Evidently connected with the three classes of souls mentioned above p. 54, n. 7.

² Probably: Niyati, threefold Kāla, the three Gupas, and the lower twenty-three principles.

³ Air being perceived by two senses (ear and skin).

* *Calana*=tremulous motion, that is, *spanda*.

comparison unchaining a torrent of verbosity, at the beginning of this section: "As the cloth of a big banner unfolded in space is upheld by the ever-purifying wind, even so Bhūti of the nature of Viṣṇu's Śakti, from Saṃkarṣaṇa down to Earth, is upheld in the Supportless Place' by [His] Will-to-be (*sambalpa*)."

Chapters 10 to 12 are devoted to the description of the Sthiti Cakra, that is the Sudarsana as the regulative principle (*pramāṇa*) of the various forces active during the period between Creation and Dissolution. Chapter 10, on the one hand, and chapters 11 and 12, on the other, refer to what the Śaivas call the Artha Adhvan and the Śabda Adhvan. *Pramāṇa* is defined (in sl. 15) as "that by which everything obtains its fixed measure (*īyati*)". Another definition (32-33) runs: "The course of Hari's Will possessed of the Regulative Wheel (*pramāṇa-cakra*) is [to be recognized in] the limit (*maryādā*) eternally fixed for every principle (*tattva*)."²

Chapter 10 shows how the "things" (*artha*), that is, manifested nature without the universe of sounds (to be dealt with in the following chapters), are governed by the Sudarsana; that is to say: (1) how the "divine pleasures" in Highest Heaven are regulated by it; how owing to it the Kūṭastha is kept in his place (between Pure and Impure Creation); how Time appears always in the form of kalās, kāṣṭhas, etc., and Buddhi as righteousness, dispassion, etc.; how each of the five elements keeps its characteristics; etc. etc.; (2) how, owing to it, the cherishing of the Sattva Guṇa is rewarded with food, rain, etc., and indulging in Tamas followed by famine

¹ The reading *pada* appears after all preferable to *paśa* (with the latter, however, cf. *bhūti* in III, 7 and V, 8).

² A third definition (*pra-mā*) is found in XIII, 5-6.

and the like; and (3) how it renders possible the continuance of the world by means of the divine Śastras¹ such as the Discus, Plough, Club, Conch, etc., used by the Lord in His Avatāras in order to fight the unrighteous, and how, on the other hand, it keeps effective the one hundred and twenty magical Astras, the imprecations by Ṛṣis, *et hoc genus omne*.

Chapters 11 and 12 are intended to show how the regulative power (*pramāṇa*) of the Sudarsana manifests itself through the word (*śabda*), that is, by means of the systems of religion and philosophy. For, says stanza 12 of chapter 11: "To resist successfully the enemies of virtue, two means are required: the array (*vyūha*) of Śastras and Astras, and the Śāstra."

Chapter 11 begins by explaining why the Avatāras of God become necessary in the course of time. The reason is the inevitable deterioration of the world in the course of the Yugas: first, indeed, there is a predominance of the Sattva Guṇa, but soon it begins to diminish, owing to the incessant growth of Rajas and Tamas, and so "this Sāttvic divine limit" begins to fluctuate (sl. 8). After this introduction the chapter takes up the description of the original Śāstra which, at the beginning of the golden age, came down from heaven "like a thunderclap", "dispelling all inner darkness". It was proclaimed by Saṁkarsaṇa. It was an harmonious whole comprehending within it everything worth knowing for man: the Vedas and Vedāṅgas, Itihāsas and Purāṇas, Sāṁkhya, Yoga, Pāsupata, etc. (sl. 20-46), and consisted

¹ "Weapons" which, however, in contradistinction to the Astras, can never be used by mortals, but only by their divine bearer with whom they are inseparably connected.

of a million chapters. The first men¹ — the divine Manus, the Mānavas and Mānavamānavas — regulated their whole life by means of it to the satisfaction of the Lord.² But then, “by the change of time”, the division in Yugas, and with it the shrinking of Sattva and the growth of Rajas, became manifest at the beginning of the Tretā age; and, “the high-souled Brāhmaṇas wishing wishes (longing for pleasures), that beautiful system (*sudarsanam sāsanaṁ*) took a slow course”. Then the divine Rṣis, taking counsel, decided that from the original Śāstra separate systems suited for the diversity of intellects should be extracted, and, after having practised severe austerities for very many years, they set to work, with the result that Apāntarātapas (Vācyāyana) fashioned (*tatukṣa*) the three Vedas, ✓ Kapila the Sāṃkhya, Hiraṇyagarbha the Yoga, and Śiva (Aḥirbudhnya) the Pāsupata, while the Lord Himself extracted, as the purest essence of the “sole divine Śāstra”, the “system (*tantra*) called Pāñcarātra describing Him as Para, Vyūha, Vibhava, etc., and being recognizable by having Liberation as its sole result”.

Chapter 12. The five recognized philosophical systems described in this chapter, namely the Trayī (or Vedic science), the Sāṃkhya, the Yoga, the Pāsupata, and the Sāttvata (or Pāñcarātra), are the same as the five “sciences” (*jñānāni*) mentioned by Vaisampāyana in the Śānti Parvan of the Mahābhārata.³ In the latter,

¹ *Ye proktā adisarge*; for “original creation” as distinguished from Brahman's creation see XV, 20.

² *Cf.* XV, 10 fl.

³ See my article *Das Saṣṭitantra* in the Journal of the German Oriental Society for 1914, also the first Sanskrit Preface in our text edition, p. 40, quoting the śloka *Sāṃkhyaṃ Yogaḥ*, etc.

however, merely their names are mentioned, for with reason the present chapter has a claim to our special attention, the more so as the Sāṃkhya described in it is not only called by the name Śaṣṭitantra, "System of the Sixty Topics", — which is the name of the source of the oldest Sāṃkhya treatise we possess, the Sāṃkhya Kārikā — but actually consists of sixty topics which are enumerated though unfortunately not explained on this occasion. We have analyzed this chapter and tried to identify the sixty topics in a paper read in Athens in 1912 before the Indian Section of the International Congress of Orientalists and subsequently published (see previous note). Here a few remarks must suffice.

By Trayī or [Vedic] Triad is meant the whole authoritative literature of Brāhmapism, that is, not only the three Vedas, but also the Ātharvaṇa¹ and all the twenty-one so-called auxiliary sciences down to politics (*nīti*), and the science of professions (*vārttā*).

The Śaṣṭitantra consists of two so-called "circles", the "circle of nature" (*prākṛta-maṇḍala*) and the "circle of educts" (*vaiśṛta-maṇḍala*), comprising respectively thirty-two metaphysical and twenty-eight ethical topics. All the former have been adopted by the Pāñcarātra², which, however, has expanded the first of them (Brāhman) by advancing the theory of the Vyūhas and the conception of Lakṣmī. The second, *puruṣa*, is evidently the Kūṭastha Puruṣa (Samaṣṭi Puruṣa) of the Pāñcarātra; the third to eighth are identical with the Māyā Śakti, Niyati, Kāla, and the three Guṇas taken separately; the

¹ Which is kept separate "because it chiefly deals with exorcism and incantations."

² We did not come to this conclusion until recently and consequently failed more or less, in the article mentioned, to arrive at the explanation of nos. 3, 9, and 10.

ninth, *akṣara*, must be the *guṇa-sāmya* called *Avyakta*; the tenth, *prāṇa*, is *Mahat*¹; the eleventh, *heart*, the *Ahaṁkāra*; the twelfth, *sāmi* (very likely a corruption of *svāmi*; cf. Bhag. Gītā 10. 22) is *Manas* (the central or "ruling" organ); and the rest are, of course, the ten senses and ten elements. To what extent the other "circle" agrees with the *Pāñcarātra*, cannot be made out by means of the mere names, though all of these can be discovered in the *Sāṁkhya* and the *Yoga* literature, as shown in the paper quoted.²

There are, declares our chapter, two systems (*samhita*) of *Yoga*, to wit the "Yoga of Suppression" (*nirodha-yoga*) — which is, of course, the one dealing with the "levelling of the mind" (*citta-vṛtti-nirodha*) — and the "Yoga of Action" (*karma-yoga*).³ The former has twelve topics, the latter is divided into "the Yoga of manifold works" and the "Yoga of one work", each of which is again divided into "external" and "internal" *Yoga*.

The *Pāsupata* system characterized by the enumeration of eight topics is, to judge from the latter and the three *sloka*s referring to it in the preceding chapter (11. 43 fl.), not identical with that "wild and outlandish" system* usually referred to as *Pāsupata* by philosophical authors, but rather with that *Āgamic* *Saivism* on which are based the later *Saivite* systems both of the north and of the south of India, although, when speaking of the *Pāsupatas* as the

¹ See above pp. 72 fl.

² For "Guṇa" (no. 20) we should now also call attention to the *guṇa-parvāṇi* of *Yoga Sūtra* II, 19.

³ The *Nakulīśa Pāsupatas*, who also distinguish these two kinds, understand by *Yoga of Action* the muttering of *Mantras*, meditation, etc., (*Sarvadarśana Saṁgraha*). The twofold *Yoga* taught in *Lakṣmī Tantra* (XVI) is (1) *samāyama*, and (2) *samādhi*, the latter being the fruit of the former.

* Bhandarkar, *Vaiṣṇavism*, etc., p. 124.

"people of strong vows" (13. 14), our author seems vaguely to include in the name also the less philosophical sects (Kāpālikas, etc.)¹.

The Sāttvata system, finally, is said to embrace the following ten topics: 1. *Bhagavat*, 2. *karmān*, 3. *vīḍyā*, 4. *kāla*, 5. *kartavya*, 6. *vaiśeṣikī kriyā*, 7. *saṃjama*, 8. *cintā*, 9. *mārga*, and 10. *mokṣa*. Of these, the first and last require no explanation; no. 2, said to be thirteenfold (15. 7), must refer to the Kriyā Pāda²; no. 3 is, according to 15. 12, the knowledge of the seven *padārthāḥ*³; *kāla* appears to refer to the *pañca-kāla-vilāhi* or rule of the five "timely" observances of the day (*abhiḡamana*, etc.) described, for instance, in the thirteenth adhyāya of the Caryā Pāda of Pādma Tantra; by *kartavya* in all probability are meant the five ceremonies (*karmān*) or sacraments (*saṃskāra*) constituting the initiation (*dīkṣa*), while no. 6, as shown by 15. 30 fl., are the "special duties" connected with the several castes and stages of life; no. 7 refers to Yoga, no. 8 to meditation⁴, and no. 9 presumably to Bhakti⁵.

About the remaining systems (Buddhism, Jainism, etc.) sloka 51 simply remarks that they are fallacious systems (*sāstrābhāsa*) founded by Gods or Brahmarṣis

¹ In the Pādma Tantra (I, 1. 50), which, however, is later than our Saṃhitā, Śiva is made the author of the three systems called Kāpāla, Śuddha Śaiva, and Pāsupata.

² See above, pp. 22.

³ "Things, topics, categories", cf. VII, 45 the sevenfold *vīḍyā-viparināma* called the seven Mahābhūtas. But *prakṛti-jñāna* seems to be distinguished from *saptapadārtha-jñāna* in XV, 12-13. Of the seven categories of the Vaiśeṣikas the three called *sāmānya*, *saṃavāya*, and *viśeṣa* are not regarded as categories in Yat. Dip., first chapter (ed., p. 17).

⁴ Cf. the expression *dvādaśāṅkara-cintakāḥ* in *Isvara Saṃhitā* XXI, 41 (quoted by Govindācārya, loc. cit., p. 947).

⁵ *Mārga*=*pañthā namananāmavān*, LII, 33.

with the object of spreading confusion among the wicked.¹

Among the synonyms of the term Sudarsana, enumerated towards the end, two, namely Prāṇa and Māyā, are worth noticing.

Chapter 13 is a review of the objects of life. The only thing "which is always and everywhere the *summum bonum* (*hitam atyantam*) of men" is, of course, "the absolute discontinuance of the succession of sorrows, and the eternal happiness implied in it" (sl. 9), which is tantamount to the attainment of one's real nature, that is, the nature of God (*bhagavanmayatā*, *bhagavattā*) (sl. 11). The two ways (*sādhana*) leading to it are sacred knowledge (*jñāna*) and religion (*dharma*), of which the latter is the stepping-stone to the former. There are two kinds of sacred knowledge, to wit the direct (*sākṣāt-kāramaya*) and the indirect (*parokṣa*) knowledge of God. Of these, again, the latter is the cause of the former. Religion is also twofold in that it is either (1) mediate (*vyavadhānavat*) worship, that is worship of some representative of God such as the god Brahmān, or (2) the immediate worship (*sākṣād-ārādhana*) of Him whose manifestation (*vibhūti*) all those gods are. Pāñcarātra worship is of the second kind, Vedic and Pāsupata worship of the first. Study of the Sāṃkhya results in

¹ In Pādma Tantra I, l. 44 fl. the systems founded in addition to (not derived from) the Pāñcarātra are: the Yoga of Brahmān, the Sāṃkhya of Kapila, the Buddhist Śūnyavāda and the Ārhatas Śāstra (Jainism) — both of the latter, like the Pāñcarātra, proclaimed by the Lord Himself (namely in the Buddha and Rṣabha Avatāras mentioned in the Bhāgavata Purāṇa) — and the three Śaivite systems founded by Śiva; the Trayī being, indeed, mentioned as *conditio sine quā non* of the Pāñcarātra (I, l. 68) but not reckoned as a philosophical system. Possibly these six systems are the same as the six *samaya-dharmāḥ* which, according to XXXIII, 64 of our Sāṃhitā, the ideal Purohita must be acquainted with.

indirect, of the Vedānta in direct knowledge of God, while Yoga practice also leads finally to direct knowledge. — The two mundane objects are wealth (*artha*) and love (*kāma*). These and religion are characterized by mutual interdependence in that each of them may become the means for attaining one or both of the other two. However, neither wealth nor love but only religion is an unfailing instrument, while Liberation (*mokṣa*) is never a means for accomplishing anything (*sādhana*) but only a thing to be accomplished (*sādhya*). For the attainment of any of the four objects both internal and external means must be employed. In the case of love, for instance, these are: (1) the sincere resolve [to fulfil one's duties as a householder], and (2) the ceremony of marriage.

Chapter 14 treats of Bondage and Liberation. The soul belongs to the Bhūti Śakti, being that portion of hers which, owing to Time, passes from birth to re-birth until, having entered the "path of the Sāstra", it is at last "reborn in its own (natural) form" (*svenābhijāyate*, sc.: *rūpeṇa*), that is, liberated. The reason and object of this *samsāra* is shrouded in mystery: it is the "play" of God, though God as the perfect one can have no desire for playing. But how the play begins and how it ends, that, indeed, may be said. The Will of God called Sudarśana, though of innumerable forms, manifests in five principal ways, to wit, the Śaktis called Creation, Preservation, and Destruction [of the universe], and Obstruction (*nigraha*) or Obscuration (*tirodhāna*) and Furtherance (*anugraha*, favouring) [of the soul]. At the beginning God "obstructs" the souls by "obscuring" or "contracting" their form (*ākāra*), power (*aśvarya*), and knowledge (*viñāna*), the result being the three

Taints (*mala*) or Fetters (*bandha*) of the soul, to wit (1) atomicity (*anubva*)¹, (2) impotence (*akiñcitkaratā*, *kiñcitkaratā*), and (3) ignorance (*ajñatva*, *kiñcijñatva*). These are, of course, the counterpart of three perfections which the soul in her natural condition has in common with the Lord, namely omnipresence², omnipotence, and omniscience². It is owing to the three Taints, according to our chapter, as also to the passions arising from the contact with Matter, that the soul finally treads the path of action and so produces Vāsanās (Germ-impressions) leading to new births; and it is the Karman so produced which (like the seed producing a tree, and the tree producing seeds, etc.) ultimately necessitates a new Creation, and so establishes the Creative, Preservative, and Destructive Saktis of the Lord. This is called the "transmission of obscuration" (*tirodhāna-paranparā*, sl. 25) of the Nigraha Sakti. It comes about with the assistance of the two parts of Bhūti called Time and [Māyā-] Sakti (sl. 26). It has no beginning, but it may have an end, so far as the individual is concerned, by the breaking in of the Power of Furtherance or the divine grace (*anugrahasakti-pāta*)³,

¹ In the sense fixed above p. 90.

² This doctrine, closely connected, as we have seen, with the Saiva doctrine of the Kañcukas, has, on the other hand, nothing in common with the Saiva doctrine of the three Taints. For, in the latter the Āvara Mala consists in the loss or absence of both knowledge and power, while the Māyīya Mala is the evil of being connected with matter (Māyā and its products), and the Kārma Mala that of the performing of good and bad deeds. Cf. Pauṣkara Āgama I, 4. 2-5 quoted by P. T. Srinivāsa Iyengar in his *Outlines of Indian Philosophy* p. 159, and the three slokas of Vāmadeva, in the Tīppaṇi on *Pratyabhijñāśrīdaya*, Srinagar edition, p. 15.

³ *Sakti-pāta* is the reading of all the MSS. in śloka 35; in another stanza (30) all of them have *sakti-pāka*, and in a third (33) all except one read *sakti-bhūta*. The term is stated to be used by "those who follow the Āgamas" (*āgama-stha*, 30), which, to judge from the unfamiliarity with it betrayed by the *varietas lectionis*, seems to point to the Saiva Āgamas as its source. The term *mala-traya* is apparently also taken from the latter and is mentioned several times in our Saṃhitā in connection with the Pāśupata system.

resembling a "shower of compassion" coming down upon him who has been "beheld¹ by God" (*Viṣṇu-samīkṣita*). It is impossible to determine when and how the "sublime mercy of Viṣṇu" breaks in. But no sooner has it happened than both the Karmans (good and bad) become "silent". For, with regard to a soul seized by the grace of God, they are as powerless, and, consequently, as indifferent, as robbers are towards a traveller guarded by a strong retinue. The breaking in of grace causes the soul to discern its goal (Liberation) and to strive after it by means of the recognized systems (Sāṃkhya, Yoga, etc.), singly or conjointly. — The Nigraha Śakti has the following synonyms (sl. 17): Illusion, Ignorance, Great Delusion, Great Gloom, Darkness, Bondage, and Knot of the Heart.

Chapter 15 takes up the question as to who is entitled to the several objects of life (*puruṣārtha*).

The answer deals first with the five systems (*siddhānta*) only. Of these the Sāttvata or Pāñcarātra alone is destined for the Manus and their pure descendants. Those "illustrious" first men called Siddhas (perfect ones) live a hundred years each in absolute purity, observing the rules of caste and periods-of-life (*āśrama*), and then obtain Liberation.² Those, on the other hand, who have sprung "from the mouth, etc., of Brahman" are primarily entitled to the four lower systems only, though they can "ascend" to the

¹ That is, chosen; cf. Kāthaka Upaniṣad I, 2. 23: *yam evaiṣa vṛṇate tena labhyaḥ*.

² These ideal first men are described at length and contrasted with the later men (offspring of Brahman) in Viṣṇusena Samhitā, loc. cit., pp. 126-129 (note especially p. 126 bottom: *Vyūhānuvṛtīm sataṁ kurvate te Jagatpateḥ*). See on them further Pādma Tantra I, 1. 35 fl. where, however, as in Viṣṇutīlaka I, 146, it is the god Brahman from whom they receive the holy śāstra.

"Sāttvata statute"¹. If they embrace the Pāṇupata, etc., they have to give up the Vedic rites which are compatible with the Yoga only.

Then follows the discussion of the castes and the periods-of-life (sl. 26 b fl.) the conception of which is, on the whole, the orthodox one. For a Sūdra it is more meritorious to serve a Brāhmaṇa than a man of either of the other castes (33). Non-hurting (*a-himsā*), truthfulness, forgiveness, and conjugal loyalty are obligatory virtues for all castes. The Saṃnyāsa Āsrama is for the Brāhmaṇa but may exceptionally be embraced by the Kṣatriya also; the Kṣatriya and the Vaiśya are entitled to the first three Āsramas. The second birth is the investment with the sacred thread, the third the initiation into the Pāñcarātra. When Brahmacharya is completed, the student may stay with the teacher as a Naiṣṭhika, or he may enter any of the other Āsramas. The Gṛhastha as well as the Vānaprastha will reach the heaven of Brahman by strictly observing their respective duties; while, by acquiring, at the same time, the highest knowledge, they will be liberated. Unless he be one of the latter class (a Jñānin or Knower), the Vānaprastha will end his life by means of the Great Departure (*mahā-prasthāna*) [or some other lawful kind of religious suicide²] (59). In the long description of the Saṃnyāsin there is nothing extraordinary except perhaps that his end is compared, just as the Buddhist Nirvāṇa, with the going out of a lamp.³

¹ "Sāttvata-śāśana", cf. p. 15: "sāttvata-vidhi".

² Like those enumerated in the Law Books and Saṃnyāsa Upaniṣads.

³ *Pradīpa iva śāntāroḥ*, sl. 75. Cf. the similar image employed (in IV, 76) for Lakṣmī's absorption into Viṣṇu at the end of a cosmic day.

Chapters 16 to 19. In addition to the forms described, the Sudarsana or Kriyā Śakti manifests itself also in the form of Mantras, that is, sounds (and their graphic symbols) and the holy utterances composed of these. The description of this so-called Mantramayī Kriyāśakti (16. 8-10) or "Sound-body of Lakṣmī" (16. 44) is the object of the next adhyāyas.

Chapter 16 begins by asking who is entitled to benefit by this form of the Śakti. The answer is that it is the prerogative of the Brāhmaṇa who acts in agreement with his king. The latter is praised in exalted terms as the *tout ensemble* of the gods, etc., and a forcible description is given (sl. 20-27) of the interdependence of the two higher castes which are like Agni and Soma, and neither of which can prosper without the other. The higher a sovereign, the more is he entitled to the use of the Mantra Śakti: most of all the *cakravartin*, then the *maṇḍalesvara*, further the *viṣayesvara*, and finally also the chief minister (*mahāmātra*), supposing he belongs to the twice-born.

(Sl. 36 fl.) Speech begins with the Nāda¹ resembling the sound of a deep bell and perceptible to perfect Yogins only; the Nāda develops into the Bindu (Anusvāra) which is twofold, as the *śabda-brahman* or "Sound Brāhman" and the Bhūti (related to each other as the name and the bearer of the name); and then from the Bindu proceed the two kinds of sounds, to wit the vowels (*svara*) and the consonants (*vyañjana*). The vowels appear in the following order: first the *a* called *amūrtara* ("chief" sound), then the *i*,

¹ Or the last lingering of the nasal sound in the correct chanting of the syllable OM; cf. below adhyāya 31 (explanation of the Tāra Mantra).

then the *u*, from which spring the corresponding long vowels and, on the other hand, by mutual union, the diphthongs: $a+i=\bar{e}$, $a+\bar{e}=ai$, etc., and further, by amalgamation with a consonantal element (*r*, *l*), the *r* and *l* sounds. In accordance with the theory of the four states of sound (Parā, Pasyanti, Madhyamā, and Vaikhari) it is then shown how these fourteen vowels (or rather the *a* as their common root, sl. 45) gradually emerge from their latent condition by proceeding, with the Kuṇḍalinī Śakti, from the Mūlādhāra (perineum) to the navel, the heart, and finally the throat where the first uttered sound arising is the aspirate, for which reason the Visarga is interpreted literally as "creation" (*śṛṣṭi*), its counterpart, the Anusvāra or Bindu being in an analogous way declared to represent the "withdrawal" (*saṁhāra*) of speech. The Anusvāra is also called "sun" (*sūrya*), and the Visarga "moon" (*soma*), and the sounds *a*, *i*, *u*, *r*, *l*, *e*, *o*, and *ā*, *ī*, *ū*, *ṛ*, *ḷ*, *ai*, *au* are respectively "sun-beams" and "moon-beams" and as such connected with day and night and with the Nāḍis called Pīṅgalā and Idā. The vowels *a*, *i*, *u*, and *r* are said to be each eighteen-fold (how, is not stated), the *l* twelve-fold, etc. From the first consonant, the *h* sound, which represents Vāsudeva, originate successively (each from the preceding one) the *s*, *ṣ*, *ś* sounds which, together with the *h*, are the Fourfold Brāhman (*caturbrahman*), and, with *h* and *ks*, the Fivefold Brāhman (*pañca-brahman*)¹. From the *s* springs the *v*, from the *v* the *l*, from the *l* the *r*, and from the *r* the *y*; then, from the *y* the *m* which represents the totality (*samastī*) of the souls, that is, the Kūṭastha Puruṣa. Then

¹ The three Vyūhas, the four-armed Vāsudeva, and the two-armed Highest Vāsudeva (P); cf. above p. 52, note 3.

there appear: the *bh* sound or world of experience (*bhagya*), namely Prakṛti; *b*, *ph*, *p*=Mahat, Ahaṁkāra, and Manas; the five dentals and five cerebrals representing respectively the five "knowledge senses" and the five "action senses"; the five palatals and the five gutturals corresponding to the Tanmātras and Bhūtas; and (finally?) from the ordinary *l* the cerebral (Vedic) *ḷ* which, however, is not counted as a separate letter.

Chapter 17 shows how each letter of the alphabet has (1) three "Vaiṣṇava" forms, namely a "gross", "subtle", and "highest" one, expressed by certain names of Viṣṇu; (2) one "Raudra" form called after one of the Rudras (that is, by one of the names of Śiva); and (3) one "Śākta" form being the name of one of the limbs, organs, or ornaments of the Śakti of Viṣṇu. For instance, the *k* sound is expressed in the Vaiṣṇava alphabet by the three names Kamala (Lotus), Karāla (Lofty), and Parā Prakṛti (Highest Nature), and in the Raudra alphabet by the name Krodhisa (Angry Lord, or Lord of the angry), while in the Śākta alphabet¹ it is identified with the thumb of the right hand of the Goddess. For Mantras connected with Viṣṇu, Śiva, or Śakti the respective alphabets should always be employed. These alphabets seem to serve a double purpose: enabling the initiate to quote the Mantras without endangering their secrecy², and providing him with a handle for their mystic interpretation. These

¹ In the employment of this alphabet the vowels (vaguely identified with the face of the Goddess) are not expressed (as in XVIII.2) or expressed by those of the Vaiṣṇava alphabet (as indicated *ibid.* 9 fl.).

² Cf. Rāmāpūrvatāpaniya Upaniṣad, end (sl. 84), naïvely asserting that the Rāma diagram (containing the Mālā Mantra in the mystic language) is "a secret hard to understand even for the Highest Lord" (*rahasyam Paramesvarasyāpi durgamam*).

lists, then, are an indispensable key to the Mantras. There are, however, more such symbolic words in use, as can be gathered, for instance from the second of the opening stanzas of our Saṃhitā, where the word *indru* (moon) means the letter *ī*¹; from the mystic alphabet employed in Rāmapurvatāpaniya Upaniṣad (sl. 74-80); etc. etc.²

Chapter 18 takes up the *uddharu* or quotation (which is, in reality, a sort of developing) of the Śakti Mantra and Saudarsana Mahāmantra (both of which contain as their chief constituent the word *sahasrāru* "thousand-spoked" expressed respectively through the Śākta and the Vaiṣṇava alphabet), of the Bijas ("germs") *hum* and *phaṭ* and of the Aṅga (auxiliary) Mantra *cakrāya svāhā*; and chapter 19 continues the subject by describing the well-known five Aṅga Mantras³ referring to heart, head, hair-lock, armour, and weapon; further an Upāṅga Mantra, the Cakra Gāyatrī, and a number of Mantras referring to the Conch, etc., and other "weapons" of Viṣṇu.

Chapter 20 describing the *dikṣā* or initiation, opens with a beautiful definition of the ideal teacher who should, among other things, be capable of sharing in both the sorrow and happiness of others (*Mitleid* and *Mitfreude*), of being lenient towards the poor of intellect, etc., and must be well versed in Veda and Vedānta (Upaniṣads), Pāñcarātra, and other systems (*tantra*).

¹ *Indusekharām*—*īkārāntām*, referring to the letter *ī* in the name *S'ri*.

² An important contribution to this subject is vol. I of Arthur Avalon's "Tantrik Texts", namely "Tantrābhidhāna, with Viṣṇu-nighaṇṭu and Mudrānighaṇṭu", containing collections of such words used, among the Śāktas (and elsewhere), as symbols for letters.

³ Cf. Nṛsiṃhapurvatāpani Upaniṣad II, 2 with commentaries.

The disciple, unmarried or married, but belonging of necessity to the "twice-born", must with perfect sincerity confess to the teacher everything he has "done or not done", after which he may be accepted on probation and, after some years, definitively, if he has succeeded in convincing the teacher that he is free from greed and infatuation, capable of guarding the secret tradition (*rahasyāmnāyu-gopin*), etc. In that case, with the usual Nyāsas, etc., the Sudarsana Mantra is imparted to him, of which the three Ṛṣis are: the Paramātman (in the "highest sense"), Saṅkarsaṇa ("subtle"), and Ahirbudhnya ("gross"); the body being also, on this occasion, regarded as threefold, namely, as consisting of the gross body, the subtle body called *puruṣaśūka*¹, and the *āvara* or atomic body. The duties of the disciple are described at some length (sl. 43-48), the importance of "confessing himself and whatever belongs to him" being once more emphasized. The Mantra should on no account be used for a mundane purpose or trifling object, but only for the protection of the three worlds, government, or king; only for welfare, not for destruction.

✓ Chapters 21 to 27 are descriptive of magical diagrams called *rahasā* or *yantra*, their respective merits, and the way of meditating upon the Yantra Devatās. The latter, among whom are the Sudarsana Puruṣa (26. 6 fl.) and the twelve Sub-Vyūhas (26. 8 fl.), are described at some length on this occasion. Incidentally there is a description of the Kali Yuga

¹ "The octad of [constituents of] the town [called body]." For three different explanations of the eight see, (1) the stanza from Yogavāsistha explained by Vijñānabhikṣu in his comm. on Sāṃkhya Sūtra III, 12; (2) Sarvadarśana Saṃgraha, Poona ed. pp. 71 fl.; and (3) Pratyabhijñā Hrdaya, ed. p. 69.

(25. 5-6). In these chapters the mystical alphabets play an important part.

Chapters 28 and 29 deal with worship (*ārādhana*): the former with the obligatory, the latter with the optional worship which a Kṣatriya is recommended to perform for ensuring victory. In the latter case the rites vary with the region (east, south, etc.) in which the warrior wishes to attack.

Chapters 31 and 32 consist of an outline of the Yoga theory and practice. The Yoga, as the counterpart of the "external sacrifice" (*bāhyajyāga*), is "worship of the heart" (*hṛdaya-ārādhana*) or the self-sacrifice (*ātma-havis*) offered to God by giving Him one's own soul separated from matter, that is, in its original purity (31. 4-5). In this condition the soul is in touch with everything (*sarvajña*) and all-supporting (*sarvabhṛt*); without eyes, ears, hands, and feet, yet all-seeing, all-hearing, with hands and feet everywhere¹; "far and yet near"²; "the imperishable part in all beings" (*akṣaram sarvabhūtastham*)³, the "Highest Place of Viṣṇu" (31. 7-11). Yoga, in fact, means "union of the life-self (soul) and the Highest Self" (*jīvātmaparamātmnanoh samyogah*, 31. 15). According to this passage, then, Yoga would be the temporal attainment, during life, of a feeling of perfect oneness with the Lord. Of a feeling only of such oneness; for that a soul ever actually becomes one with the Lord, is excluded by the premises of the system, as we have

¹ Bhādarāyaka Upaniṣad IV, 3. 23 fl.

² Isāvāsya Upaniṣad 5.

³ It may be useful to remember here that Rāmānuja and his followers find no difficulty in relating all such expressions (for instance in the Bhagavad Gītā) to the individual souls as separated from matter, that is, in their pure condition in which they are essentially, though not numerically, the same.

seen in the last section of part II of this Introduction. Such feeling of identity is also attributed to the liberated.¹

From 31. 18 to the end of 32 the eight Yogāṅgas are described at some length and not without some originality: (1) the ten constituents of Yama (*brahmacharya*=not regarding one's wives as objects of enjoyment; *āṛjara*=concordance of speech, thought, and action); (2) the ten Niyamas (*śraddhā*=confidence in the work enjoined; *āstikya*=conviction that there exists, *asti*, a something, *vastu*, accessible through the Vedas only); (3) eleven chief postures; (4) the Prāṇāyāma, with a long physiological introduction on the tubular vessels called Nāḍis (forming the "wheel" in which the soul moves about like a spider in its web; 32. 22) and the ten winds of the body, and directions as to the purification, within three months, of the whole system of Nāḍis; (5) Pratyāhāra, which is not merely a negative act (withdrawal of the senses) but also a positive one (*nivesanam Bhagavati* "entering into God"); (6) Dhāraṇā, the "keeping of the mind in the Highest Self"; (7) Dhyāna, meditation on the "wheel-formed" Viṣṇu (*Saudarsana Puruṣa*) who is here described as eight-armed, clad in jewels, with lightning-flashes as the hairs of his head, etc.; and (8) Samādhi, which is reached by gradually intensifying Dhyāna until the Siddhis or magical powers (of making one's body infinitely small, etc.) become manifest and spirits and gods begin to serve the Yogin.

Chapters 30, 34, 35, and 40 are occupied with the subject of the Astras or magical weapons,

¹ At least in the Śaiva Siddhānta (Schomerus, *loc. cit.*, p. 405), but undoubtedly also in the Pāñcarātra, though the wish of *kāṁkara* (above p. 58) is of course inconsistent with it.

that is, occult forces of nature, of an obstructive or destructive character, which can be set loose, directed, and withdrawn by those who know the spells connected with them.

Chapter 80 traces back the origin of the Astras to the creation of the world.¹ Before creation the Lord, having nothing to play with (*līlōpakaṛaṇa*)², could find no satisfaction (*na ratim lebhe*). He, consequently, made Himself manifold (*ātmānam bahu akalpayat*)³ by creating Pradhāna and Puruṣa (primordial matter and the soul) and then from the former, with the help of his Śakti in the form of Time, the Mahat, the Ahankāra, etc., down to the gross elements. Out of these He then formed the Cosmic Egg, and in the latter He created Prajāpati (the four-faced Brahman) who, "looking at the Vedas, framed, as before, the manifold names and forms of the gods, etc.". So "the Highest Lord, though all of His wishes are ever fulfilled, could experience, by means of the beings created by Himself, the flavour of playing (*līlā-rasa*)". He discovered, however, that there was in His creation a tendency towards the bad which could be counterpoised only if He with a portion of Himself would become the protector of His creatures. So He created, as an instrument against the wicked (Daiteyas and Dānavas), His Sudarsana form, and, the

¹ With the beginning of this chapter cf. chapter XLl and XXXVIII, 10 fl.

² "For Him all of Whose wishes are fulfilled, creation, etc., can have no purpose" (P. Prakāsa S. I, 1. 4) and is, therefore "play"

³ So far the chapter is a paraphrase of some well-known Upaniṣad passages which belong to what the Viśiṣṭādvaita calls *ghaṭaka-srutayaḥ* or texts reconciling monism and pluralism in that they show that the world, that is, the "body of God" (cf. LII, 23, being a reproduction of Bhagavad Gītā XI, 7), was latent in Him before creation.

gods and kings being unable to use the latter, He produced from it the Astras or magical weapons. These, a little over a hundred¹, are enumerated by name and in five groups according as they have sprung from the mouth, breast, thighs, feet, or "other limbs" of the Saudarsana Puruṣa. The first four classes constitute the Pravartaka (offensive, destructive), the fifth class the Nivartaka or Upasamhāra (defensive, obstructive) Astras. A definition of these two kinds is found in 36. 13-15 where the second are described as having the hands joined in supplication (*sāṅjālīmī*), while the first are said to look as though they were to devour all the worlds (*attum ivāseṣabhuvanāni*).

Chapter 34 gives the spells enabling one to use the sixty-two Pravartaka Astras, Chapter 35 those for the forty-three Nivartaka Astras. Here again, as may be expected, the occult alphabets are extensively used.

Chapter 35, towards the end (sl.92), raises the question as to whether the Astras have a material form (*mūrti*) or not. The answer is to the effect that they have, indeed, visible bodies of a dreadful appearance, more or less human-like, with a mouth studded with terrible teeth, rolling eyes, lightning-flashes instead of hairs, etc., and that they differ in colour, some being grey like ashes, others radiant as the sun, others again white, etc.; further that they carry their mighty weapons with arms resembling huge iron bars.

In continuation of this general description Chapter 40 describes individually each of the one hundred and two Astras by which here, however, the visible weapons

¹ Chapter XL enumerates 102, but chapters XXXIV and XXXV mention apparently some more.

carried by the various Astra Puruṣas seem to be meant; for, the Saṃmohana Astra, for instance, is said to look like "a lotus with stalk", the Madana Astra like a chowrie, the Saumanasa Astra like a cluster of roses, etc.

Chapter 41 contains the story of the first intervention of the Lord in order to fight evil. It is the Paurāṇic story of the two demons Madhu and Kaiṭabha who wrested the Vedas from Brahmān before he could make use of them for creating the world. Brahmān, in his distress, goes to "the other shore of the Sea of Milk" and addresses a hymn to the Lord¹ in answer to which the Lord appears to him and hears his complaint. By His mere thought of the two demons these are forced to appear before Him, yet still they refuse to return the Vedas. The enraged Lord now orders Viṣvaksena to kill them, but V., in spite of leading against them "all the Vaiṣṇavite armies" (*śurvāḥ senā Vaiṣṇavīḥ*), is unable to do so. Now the Lord Himself "in His discus-form" (*cakrarūpīn*), with sixty-two arms, wearing all His divine weapons, appears on the battle-field with the splendour of a thousand suns, and the armies of the demons, unable to bear the sight, are instantly destroyed, whereupon the Lord hurls His discus against the two evil-doers, decapitating both of them.

Chapter 36 teaches how the Sudarsana Yantra, the construction of which was explained in chapter 26, is to be worshipped. There are two aspects of this Yantra, namely the form aspect and the Mantra aspect, called respectively the prior constituent (*pūrvāṅga*) and the posterior constituent (*aparāṅga*), the former

¹ Giving Him the following epithets among others: *suddha-jñānaśvarūpa*, *visvāturyāmīn*, *suddhasattvaśikamūrti*, *Viṣvaksena-mukhaḥ śūrtiḥ śevyanāna*, *divyānandamaya-vyoma-nīlaya*.

consisting of figures (namely the Sudarsana Puruṣa surrounded by the twelve Sub-Vyūhas, etc.), and the latter of Mantras only in the place of the figures. The meditation on the second form is for the teacher of Mantras, the Brāhmaṇa, only; the worship of the first is much recommended to kings and others desirous of material prosperity (*svī*) who, to ensure complete success, may build a special *vimāna* (kind of temple) for the purpose. The very preparation of the soil (*barṣaṇa*) for such a building is a highly meritorious act.

The final part of the chapter (sl. 49 fl.) answers some doubts such as how Kesava, etc., being the Lord Himself, can be meditated upon as His retinue (*parivāra*).

Chapter 37 has two parts. The first part enjoins that in times of great danger, when the enemy is overrunning the country, the king shall construct and worship an image of the sixteen-armed Sudarsana, of whom a detailed description is given.

The second part (sl. 22 fl.) is devoted to the explanation of Nyāsa which is declared to be a third *sādhana* (religious expedient) in addition to worship and Yoga. The word *nyāsa* (putting down, giving over, renouncing) is here understood in the sense of *bhakti*, the six constituents of which are enumerated, and which is defined thus: "Taking refuge (*saranāgati*) is the praying thought: I am a receptacle of sins, naught, helpless; do thou become my remedy (*upāya*)", the Mantra to be employed being: "O Lord who art invincible through the all-conquering thousand spokes [of Thy discus], I am taking refuge in Thee." The act of taking refuge implies all austerities, pilgrimages, sacrifices, and charities, because it means self-sacrifice, than which nothing is higher. The

devotee should meditate on God as a sacrifice (*yajñarūpa-dharam devam*): His body being the altar, His mouth the Āhavanīya fire, His heart the Southern fire . . . the enemies of His devotees the sacrificial animals. . . . His sixteen arms the priests. . . compassion His sacrificial gift, etc. Warning to the kings not to neglect the Sudarsana worship.

Chapter 38 deals with the origin and cure of diseases. In order to explain the former the author begins by describing (in five slokas) the dissolution of the world.¹ When Pralaya [and the Great Night] was over — the account continues — the Lord, in order to play, created the world once more: first (*pūrṇam*) the “names and forms”, then (*punaḥ*)² Prakṛti consisting of the three Guṇas, called Māyā, with whom He began to enjoy Himself. “She, however, possessing a *śakti* (female energy) for each of the creatures³ and giving them pleasure, made them eager to enjoy her, and so became (lit.: becomes) the cause of the obscuration of the [true nature of both the] individual and the highest soul.” Owing to her influence man begins to identify himself (that is, his soul) with his body; then, having sons, etc., he forms the idea of the “mine”; this leads to love and hatred, and herewith the seeds (*vāsanāḥ*) have appeared, the fruits of which are inevitably a new life conditioned by the good or bad use made of the preceding one. The diseases, therefore, are nothing but the sprouting forth of the sins we have committed in former lives.

¹ Indicating thus that the Kārmic chain (to which the diseases belong) has no absolute beginning.

² The creation of “names and forms” here referred to as connected with primary creation is, of course, different from the one attributed to the god Brahmān.

³ That is, souls; *bhūtāni* = *puruṣāḥ*.

There follow five magical recipes for curing (1) fever, (2) consumption, (3) urinary troubles, (4) dysentery, and (5) epilepsy. In the several cures the throwing of certain substances into the sacrificial fire, the use of vessels with Yantras etc. engraved on them, and presents to Brāhmins play an important part, while practically no internal medicine is prescribed for the patient.

Chapter 39. Nārada wishes to know whether there is not one remedy for curing all diseases, destroying all enemies, and attaining whatever one might desire to attain. The answer is a description of the ceremony called Mahābhiseka "Great Baptism" which everybody can have performed, though it is specially recommended to kings and government officials. It should be executed in a temple or other sacred building, on even and purified ground, and commences with the drawing of the Māhendra circle and Saudarsana diagram, culminates in a fire sacrifice (*homa*) performed by eight R̥tvijs (corresponding to the eight directions of space), and ends with the baptism by the chief priest who successively sprinkles the person concerned with sacred water from each of the nine pitchers employed. He who has gone through this ceremony, "will promptly attain whatever be in his mind".

Chapter 42, before relating the two stories to be summarized later, contains the following :

(1) Nārada inquires about the origin, *devatā* (presiding deity), etc., of the Aṅga Mantras described in chapter 19. Ahirbudhnya answers that he has extracted them from the Atharva Veda, and that their *devatā* is the Lord Himself in His Sudarsana form, their purpose the protecting of the body of the devotee, etc.

(2) How a king may recognize that divine weapons and black magic (*abhicāra*) are being used against him, and how he may neutralize their influence. The symptoms (enumerated in ten stanzas) are among others: the sudden death of horses, elephants, and ministers; a violent disease attacking the king; poor crops; the appearance of snakes and white ants at the door of the palace or temple; the falling of meteors; frequent quarrels among the ministers; enigmatical conflagrations breaking out in the town; appearance to the king, in dreams, of his own figure showing a shaved head, clad in black, and driving to the south (the region of Death) on a car drawn by donkeys. The remedy is the construction of a picture or image of the Lord carrying the Nivartaka Astras, and the meditation on, or worship of, the same. Not only the king but also his ministers should do so. Then the Lord will at last be pleased and check by His Upasaphāra Astras the magic or the divine weapons threatening His devotee.

Chapters 43 and 44. On the power of the great Sudarṣana Mantra, the root of all Mantras (44. 12), enabling one to cause to appear before oneself the Sudarṣana Puruṣa *in personā* (with two arms, etc.), clad in a yellow robe, of dazzling splendour. Chapter 43 narrates how Ahirbudhnya, chapter 44 how Brhaspati, obtains this sight. The latter asking with surprise how He, being known as eight-armed in the world, can now stand before him in a human form, the Sudarṣana Puruṣa declares that He has four forms (*vṛjūḥ*) showing respectively two, eight, sixteen, and sixty-two arms, and moreover a fifth form in which He appears as the All (*visvamayurūpa*). At Brhaspati's

request He appears to him in the All-form and finally as eight-armed.¹

Chapter 46. Definition of the ideal Purohita. Preparations for, and description of, the Sudarsana Homa, a fire sacrifice to be performed for the king. At the end the latter, seated on a consecrated throne, is anointed.

Chapter 47. Description of the Mahāsānti Karman, a great ceremony to be employed by kings, which alone has the power to avert every evil and secure complete prosperity both in this world and the next. Of former kings who have performed it the following are mentioned: Ambarīṣa, Śuka, Alarka, Māndhātṛ, Purūravas, Rājoparicara, Dhundhu, Śibi, and Śrutakīrtana. In this ceremony the Astras divided into eight groups are worshipped with eight different materials and Mantras.

Chapters 33, 42, 45, 48, 49, and 50 contain "ancient stories" (*purāṇṛtta itihāsa*, 45.9) intended to illustrate the effect of the divine weapons and of certain amulets or talismans.

Chapter 33. The Sudarsana is the Wheel of Time, the Highest Self the one who turns it and who appears as Brahman, Viṣṇu, and Śiva at the times of creation, continuance, and dissolution of the world, as Buddha to the Bauddhas, as Jina to the Jainas, as the Yajña Puruṣa to the Mimāṃsakas, and as the Puruṣa to the Kāpilas, but preferably in His discus form (*cakrarūpadhara*) and always so when He wants to protect some devotee and to check his enemies, to illustrate which the story of Maṇi-sekhara is narrated. There reigned in the town

¹ God in His All-form is called in the Gītā "thousand-armed", while He usually appears, according to that source (XI, 46), in His four-armed shape. It is noteworthy that, instead of the latter, we have above the eight-armed shape.

of Naicāsākha a king called Pramaganda'. His son Durdharṣa, a Rājarsi and Cakravartin (royal sage and emperor), had by his principal wife Vatsalā a son called Maṇisekhara who married Prāci, ascended the throne when his father retired to the forest, and had born to him through Prāci seven sons. At that time the demon Vikatākṣa and his numerous descendants had become the plague of the country, and Vikatākṣa having obtained from Brahmān the boon of invincibility, nothing was left to the king but to apply for help to the Lord Himself. So, in order to learn how to approach the latter, Maṇisekhara went, on the advice of his Purohita, to the sage Durvāsas, and, directed by the latter, to Sālagrāma on the Sarasvatī (the holiness of which place is brought into connection with the Vārāha Avatāra and described at length in sl. 78 to 86). Here he worships the Lord for one month with *arcana*, *japa*, and *dhyāna*, after which He appears to him, eight-armed, etc., and emits out of His breast the Aindra Cakra (being the Astra described in 40. 23-24): first one, then ten, then a hundred, etc., filling all space and killing the asuras.

Chapter 42, after having described the symptoms betraying the approach of hostile magic (see above p. 131), tells two stories illustrating how the latter may be counteracted.

Story of Kāsīrāja (sl. 35 fl.). Kāsīrāja², a worshipper of Mahādeva, calls into existence, with the help of his god, a *kṛtyā* or magical formation, which he

¹ These two names are also mentioned by Śāyana in the preface to his Rgveda Bhaṣya, ed. Max Mueller, vol. I, p. 4, where also the country is mentioned in which the town was situated, namely, Kīṭaka (probably a part of South Bihār).

² There is a Kāsīrāja among the kings of the Lunar Dynasty.

sends out to destroy Dvārakā and Kṛṣṇa. The latter (*Bhagavat*), seeing the *kṛtyā* approaching, emits the Sudarsana against it, whereupon the "frightened" *kṛtyā* hurries back to its master and perishes with him and his town by the Sudarsana which, after having done its work, returns to the Lord.

Story of Śrutakīrti (sl. 40 fl.). Śrutakīrti, king of the Saurāṣṭras, reigning in Bhadrāsālā, "devoted to the great Sudarsana Mantra, highly virtuous", was not satisfied with ruling the seven continents but wished to conquer also "another world". He, consequently, having worshipped the Sudarsana, entered his gorgeous aerial chariot, and, "accompanied by his army", set out to conquer Svastikā, the capital of the Gandharvas, ruled by king Vīṇāvinodana. The latter, amused, sends out his army of Siddhas and Gandharvas, but they are beaten. The Gandharva king then appears himself in the battle, but Śrutakīrti defeats him in a ferocious single combat, and the Gandharva army is completely beaten a second time. Then the Gandharva king, in his despair, employs the Gandharva Astra (being the thirty-fourth of the Pravartaka Astras) which spreads confusion among the enemy, though it cannot reach Śrutakīrti himself who is protected by the Sudarsana. The battle having thus come to a standstill, Śrutakīrti is instructed by his priest in the meditation on the great Wheel having sixty-four spokes and in its centre the God, sixty-two armed and carrying the Samhāra Astras¹; and he learns from him also the Mantras for all the Astras of the two classes. He then returns to the battle, and meditating, with his eyes fixed on his army, in the manner indicated

¹ *Sic*, though according to chapter 34 sixty-two is the number of the Pravartaka Astras.

and muttering at the same time the appropriate Mantras, he easily achieves, through the divine weapons now at his disposal, a definite victory. The chapter ends by describing how the king, in order to secure his Liberation, constructs a magnificent temple (*vināṇa*) containing "in the midst of a beautiful wheel the sixty-two-armed [God] with the Nivartaka Astras", and how he appoints for the temple, and loads with presents, one hundred and twenty Brāhmins.

Chapter 45 relates the story of Kusadhvaja, intended to show that through the power of the Sudarsana even a *prārabhita-karman* can be annihilated. Kusadhvaja, the high-souled king of the Janakas, feels possessed by a devil (*mahā-moha*) causing failure of memory and other ills. His Guru tells him that this is due to his having once, in a former life, murdered a righteous king, and recommends him to build a sumptuous temple in order to obtain the grace of the Sudarsana. The king follows the advice, and the Guru performs in the temple a propitiatory ceremony lasting ten days, after which the king is cured.

Chapters 48 to 50 contain five stories intended to show that for those who cannot perform these great ceremonies, the following five talismans, each of which bears the Sudarsana Mahāyantra inscribed on it, may on particular occasions become useful, to wit: (1) the "seat", (2) the "finger-ring", (3) the "mirror", (4) the "banner", and (5) the "awning".

(1) Story of Muktāpīḍa or Hārāpīḍa, son of Susravas. He is so much addicted to sensual pleasures that, owing to them, he neglects his empire which is, consequently, harassed by the Dasyus. The Purohita, asked by the ministers for his advice, constructs

a seat (*viṣṭara*, *āsana*) furnished with a Yantra, and causes the "amorous king" to sit down on it. Then he induces him to arrange for Veda recitation, music, and dance, and to go himself, for the time of one month, through certain meditations and ceremonies, eating only food that is seven times consecrated. The final effect of this is that all the enemies of the country die through disease or the sword, and the king has again a "thornless" empire. Incidentally are mentioned various methods for producing rain¹.

(2) Story of Viśāla, a righteous king reigning at Viśālā(Vaiśālī). His wife receives the news, through a voice from heaven, that her son will die within four days. The king, having gone to the hermitage of the sage Pulaha, is advised by the latter to wear a finger-ring (*aṅgulīya*) bearing the Sudarsana, which would ward off death. He does so; the servants of Yama arrive and take to flight, frightened by the divine Astras coming forth from the felly of the Wheel. Great astonishment of the gods at the death-conquering power of the Sudarsana.

(3) Story of Sunanda (48. 64 fl). There reigned, at Śṛṅgārapura, a king called Sunanda who had a son called Sumati. Once the latter, having gone out hunting, meets in a forest a very beautiful Nāga girl who enchants him and takes him with her to the Nāga world. There she delivers him to Anaṅgamañjari, the daughter of the Nāga king Vāsuki, who makes him her

¹ And other things which are still less likely to be the teaching of a Purohita to his king, such as the important disclosure that, in order to obtain a garment of a certain colour, a flower (or flowers) of that colour should be sacrificed (XLVIII, 33). There is undoubtedly a large interpolation here from some other text, and probably between sl. 16 and 17 one or several ślokaś have disappeared.

husband. Happy beyond measure owing to his intercourse with the princess he forgets his whole past. King Sunanda, after having had a vain search made for him everywhere, ceases, out of grief, to take food. Then his Purohita goes to the hermitage of his teacher Kaṇva on the bank of the Tamasā and reports to him what has happened. Kaṇva, having entered into a trance, "sees" the "story of the boy" which is as follows: After futile attempts at finding in the Nāga world a husband worthy of the beautiful Anaṅgamañjarī, the Nāga girls began to look out for one on earth, and so discovered Sumati in the forest in which he was hunting. One of the girls, called Ramā, specially proficient in witchcraft (*māya-viśārādā*), succeeded in enticing him to the Nāga world, where he was now living unaware of his past, as the husband of the charming daughter of king Vāsuki. There was one means of bringing him back, namely the great Sudarśana diagram inscribed with golden letters on a mirror (*darpaṇa*). With this message the Purohita returns to his king. The latter, delighted, has the magical mirror at once constructed and, with its help, enters the nether regions and arrives at Bhogavatī, the capital of the Nāgas. He finds his son and abducts him together with his wife and female servants; he is, however, overtaken by Vāsuki and his army of Nāgas. In the ensuing battle the Nāgas are conquered by the Prasvāpana and Āgneya Astras (the sixty-first and twenty-first of the Pravartaka Astras) coming forth from the magical mirror, the former causing the Nāgas to sleep, and the latter setting fire to their town. Now Vāsuki asks for peace, offering precious jewels and a thousand Nāga girls, whereupon Sunanda withdraws the Astras and returns to his capital.

(4) Story of Citrasekhara (49. 1 fl.). There was, on the bank of the Sarasvatī, a beautiful town called Bhadravāṭī, ruled by a king called Citrasekhara. The father of the latter had once, using an aerial chariot presented to him by Indra, attacked and killed a Dānava called Śaṅkukarṇa, owing to which deed the son of Śaṅkukarṇa, called Amaraṇa, was incessantly harassing Citrasekhara and his town. When the two armies had met for the seventeenth time before Bhadravāṭī and returned home again after a drawn battle, Citrasekhara made up his mind to apply for divine help and set out in his aerial chariot for the Kailāsa. While he is driving over the mountains, his chariot suddenly stops short on the peak of the Mandara. He alights, and, after having walked for a while, meets, on the bank of a tank, Kubera, the god of riches, who tells him that this is the place where Mahālakṣmī is living, to worship whom he had come here; and that, as it was due to her that his chariot had stopped, he should therefore apply to her. Hereupon Kubera disappears, but sends a Guhyaka who offers his services to the king and proposes that they should spend the night on the spot, which they do. Then in the morning, the Guhyaka takes the king to the palace of Mahālakṣmī. The king then sings a beautiful hymn to Mahālakṣmī, who is pleased and gives him a banner showing the Sudarsana diagram (*yantrita dhvajā*). The king then returns to his capital and conquers, by means of the banner, the army of the Asuras.

(5) Story of Kīrtimālin (50. 1 fl.). Kīrtimālin, the son of king Bhadrasṛṅga at Viśālā, was a great hero. Once, during the night, when he was taking a walk outside the town, he saw a Brāhmaṇa sitting under a Śamī tree, absorbed in Yoga and shining like fire. He

asks him who he is, but receives no answer. He repeats his question several times and at last, his patience giving way, tries to attack him, with the result, however, that he grows stiff, unable to move (*stabdha-ceṣṭa*). He solicits and obtains the pardon of the Yogin, who now tells him that, travelling to Śālagrāma, he had been overtaken by night and had remained outside the town because the gates were closed. The king takes him into the town, and the next morning, when he is about to start again, asks him for some useful teaching. The Yogin then imparts to the king the Saudarsana Mahāmantra together with the Aṅga Mantra, Dhyāna, etc., belonging to it. He declines the liberal *dakṣiṇā* offered to him, asking that it be given to the Brāhmins, and takes leave. — Everything on earth being subject to the king, he resolves to conquer the gods, Gandharvas, Asuras, and Nāgas. He begins by marching against the Nāgas and conquers these by means of the Gāruḍa Astra¹, forcing them to promise a tribute of jewels, etc. He then turns against the Daityas, the Yakṣas, the Gandharvas, the Siddhas, and finally the Vidyādharas, and, having conquered all of these, returns to his residence. Missing in his retinue the Devas, he sends, through the Gandharva Manojava, a message to Indra to send him immediately his elephant Airāvata, his thunderbolt, the Kalpa tree, and eight Apsarases. Indra laughs and answers through the messenger that he would now send the thunderbolt and the elephant only; that the king should come with these and see him; that then he would give him the other things too. The elephant with the thunderbolt enters,

¹ Which appears to be missing among the Astras enumerated in chapters 34, 35, and 40.

without being seen, the town of the king, and silently begins to destroy his army. The king, unable to recognize the cause of the growing disaster, is at first alarmed, but then, informed by Manojava, who has meanwhile returned, he employs the Vāraṇa Astra¹ causing the elephant to become motionless. On learning the news from some of his retinue, Indra becomes angry beyond measure, and, by his order, the army of the gods "like the gaping ocean at the time of Pralaya" sets out for Visālā. A terrible battle begins to rage and to turn in favour of the gods. Their ranks are not shaken even when the king employs the divine Astras ("Āgneya, etc."); for Indra has "counter-weapons" (*pratyastra*) neutralizing their effect. But then, the situation becoming desperate, the king suddenly remembers the Yogin's instruction concerning a chariot with a magical awning (*vitānu*), has the latter made, and returns with it into the battle. Now an amazing change takes place: the Viṣṇu Cakra² sent forth by the king from his chariot causes all the Devas to fall on the ground, from which they are unable to rise again, having become motionless; whereas all the divine missiles cast by Indra, Astras as well as Śastras, simply disappear into the Viṣṇu Cakra "like moths [disappearing] into the fire", "like streams [disappearing] into the ocean. At last the raging Indra hurls his thunderbolt at Kīrtimālīn; but even the thunderbolt is absorbed by the Viṣṇu Cakra. The highly astonished Indra now approaches the king's chariot; and Kīrtimālīn, having respectfully risen before

¹No. 65 in chapter XL; probably the same as no. 38 of the Saṃhāra Astras.

²The fifth of the Pravartaka Astras (XXXIV, 14-16).

the king of the gods and saluted him with friendly words, explains to him his invincibility, whereupon the two part as friends.

Chapters 51 to 59 explain Vaiṣṇavite Mantras, some of which are described from three standpoints: the "gross", the "subtle", and the "highest". Incidentally many items are mentioned which throw light on certain philosophical and ethical doctrines such as those of the Vyūhas, of Bhakti, etc. These chapters being too technical to admit of a summary like the preceding ones, we have to confine ourselves to calling attention to some characteristic passages.

The first Mantra explained is the Tāra or Tāraka Mantra, that is, the sacred syllable ŌM. In its "gross sense" it simply consists of the letters *ō* and *m*, meaning respectively *ōta* and *mita*, and thus representing the sentence: "Everything (*sarvam*) limited (*mitam*) is threaded (*ōtam*) on Him (*asmin*)."¹ In its "subtle sense" it is composed of the letters *a*, *u*, *m* denoting respectively: (1) the waking state and gross universe with Aniruddha as their protector; (2) the dream-consciousness and subtle universe superintended by Pradyumna; (3) the *susupti* state and corresponding universe with Saṅkarṣaṇa as their guardian-deity; then (4) the echo of the *m* (*ardhamātrā*) representing Vāsudeva (the *turiya*); further (5) the last lingering of the nasal sound, which is the undifferentiated Śakti of the Lord as the "fifth stage"; and, finally, (6) the silence observed after the pronunciation of the syllable, which is Viṣṇu as the Highest Brāhman.¹ In its "highest sense" it means the belonging together

¹ Cf. Dhyānabindu Upaniṣad 4; also above p. 52, note 3, and p. 53.

(expressed by the letter *m*) of (1) *a*, that is, Viṣṇu possessed of the active Śakti and (2) *u*, that is, Viṣṇu possessed of the inactive Śakti, namely, during the cosmic night. ŌM in its "subtle sense" is said to further denote: Brahman, Viṣṇu, Śiva, and the Avyakta of the Paurāṇikas; the Sādākhya, Aisvara, Sadvidyā, and Śiva of the Pāsupatas¹; and Vyakta, Avyakta, Puruṣa, and Kāla of the Sāṃkhyas.

Another instructive example of this sort of linguistic occultism is the explanation (52. 2-33) of the word *namas* ("respectful obeisance, bow", etc.) occurring in ŌM *namo Viṣṇave* and many other Mantras. In the "gross sense" the word is declared to mean *prapatti* or self-surrender, the six constituents and obstacles of which are here explained at some length (sl. 14-24). In the "subtle sense" the word is regarded as consisting of the three constituents *na*, *ma*, and *s*, which together represent the sentence: "No (*na*) selfish regard (*manya*) for one's self and one's own (*svasmin svāye ca*)", namely the famous Sāṃkhya formula *nāsmi na me nāham*², if properly understood (sl. 28). The "highest sense", finally, is explained by means of the Mantra key (17. 21, 24, 11) in the following way: *na* signifies "path", *ma* "chief", and the Visarga "Highest Lord", the combination of the three meaning that the chief path for attaining God is the one called reverential obeisance (*namana*).

The "gross sense" of *Viṣṇave Nārāyaṇāya*, etc., in the Mantras containing these words is discovered in the dative relation (self-surrender to God), for which reason, here and often elsewhere, the "gross sense" is called

¹ LI, 41. We take it that *samākhya* is a corruption of *sadākhya*.

² Sāṃkhya Kārika 64. The formula is also Buddhist; see my "On the Problem of Nirvāṇa" in the Journal of the Pāli Text Society for 1905, p. 157.

the meaning deducible from the case-relation or connection with the verb (*krīyā-kāraṇa-saṃsarga-labhya*, etc.). Similarly, the "subtle sense", in that it is derived from the crude or uninflected form of the noun, is called the meaning derivable from the uninflected base (*prātipadika-stha*) and the like.

No less than three chapters (54 to 56) are exclusively devoted to the explanation of the renowned Nārasimhānuṣṭubha Mantra¹. The "subtle sense" is here explained in five different ways, namely, from the standpoint of each of the five recognized systems (*cf.* chapter 12), while the "gross sense" (explained in chapter 54) is supposed to be the same for all of these, and the "highest sense" (explained in 55. 34 fl. and 56) is peculiar to the Pāñcarātra. In the explanation of the "highest sense" all of the thirty-nine Avatāras are enumerated, Padmanābha being identified with the letter *j* of the word *jvalantam*, Kāntātman with the *v*, Ekāmbhoniḍhisāyin with the *a*, etc.; then Piyūṣaharaṇa with the letter *s* of *sarvato* (the word following *jvalantam*), and so on.

The fifty-ninth chapter gives, in slokas 2 to 39, an explanation of the first five stanzas of the famous Puruṣa Sūkta. This section is particularly interesting because of the use made in it of the Vyūha theory. The first stanza, so we learn, refers to Vāsudeva whose connection with Lakṣmī, the Puruṣas, and Prakṛti respectively is expressed by the three epithets *sahasraśrīṣa*, etc., while by "earth" (*bhūmi*) the Bhūmi Śakti as the material cause of the world is meant, the fourth quarter of the stanza, finally, indicating

¹ The same which is the subject of the Nṛsiṃhapūrvatāpaniya Upaniṣad.

the infinity of the cause as compared with its products. The second stanza refers to Saṃkarṣaṇa; for he is the Lord of Immortality or the one with whose help the soul through "food" (*anna*), that is, the material universe, reaches Liberation. The third stanza, after praising the greatness of Saṃkarṣaṇa, states that Pradyumna's service is still greater (from the worldly standpoint?) because he is the creator of Puruṣa and Prakṛti. In the fourth stanza the "one quarter" of God which alone has become this world is naturally identified with Aniruddha, the Inner Ruler (*antaryāmin*) of all beings who pervades both "that which has food (=experience of pleasure and pain) and that which has no food", namely the animate and the inanimate nature. After this, the strange saying of the fifth stanza, that from the Puruṣa has sprung the Virāj, and from the Virāj the Puruṣa, is no longer enigmatical: the first Puruṣa is of course Aniruddha, and the second Puruṣa the god Brahmān, the Virāj being the Parā Vidyā or Highest Prakṛti, that is, the matter (in the form of an Egg) out of which the god Brahmān is created.¹

The above interpretation of the Puruṣa Sūkta being probably connected with the origin of the theory of the Vyūhas, a word on the latter may not be amiss here. The original worship, proved by archæology and the Buddhist scripture, of only Vāsudeva and Baladeva=Saṃkarṣaṇa can signify nothing else, in our opinion, than that by the original Pañcarātrins Kṛṣṇa was worshipped as the transcendent Highest God, and his brother, the "God of Strength", as His immanent aspect appearing as the world, this dogma of the double aspect of God being simply the

¹ Cf. above p. 81

Pāñcarātra solution of the old, old Indian problem of a God becoming the world without sharing its imperfections. Afterwards, when this original, non-Brāhmaṇic Pāñcarātra¹ was to be brought into agreement with the Veda and the famous saying of the Puruṣa Sūkta (fourth stanza) about the four quarters of God, one of which only had become the world, two more members of the family of Kṛṣṇa, namely his son and grandson, were deified, that is, made aspects of God, the grandson naturally taking the place formerly occupied by the brother. And with this identification the parallelism of the Vyūhas with the other well-known tetrads (states of consciousness, constituents of the syllable ŌM, etc.) was of course also established.²

Chapter 59, towards the end (sl. 54 fl.), gives a résumé of "this Samhitā of the Pāñcarātra, the divine one comprehending³ Sāṃkhya and Yoga, etc., the very secret one", "the highest science corroborating all Upaniṣads"⁴, and warns against imparting it to anyone except a true devotee of Vāsudeva.

¹ The non-Brāhmaṇic origin of the system has been emphasized by Prof. Garbe in the introduction to his *Gītā* translation and elsewhere.

² Nothing about the origin of the Vyūha theory can be gained from the Upaniṣads, it being referred to only in a few of the latest, to wit Mudgala, Tripādivibhūtimahānārāyaṇa, and Gopālottaratāpinī. Mudgala speaks of Aniruddha as the Pāda Nārāyaṇa and mentions one Puruṣa Samhitā containing a succinct explanation of the Puruṣa Sūkta. Tripādivibhūti is the only Upaniṣad which looks like a Pāñcarātra treatise. Gopālottaratāpinī (10 fl.) identifies Samkarṣaṇa, Pradyumna, Aniruddha, and Kṛṣṇa (in this order) with the Viśva, Taijasa, Prāñña, and Turiya, and with the *a, u, m*, and *ardhamātrā*. In the Upaniṣads, generally speaking, the Pāñcarātra is as unknown as should be expected of a system of non-Brāhmaṇic origin.

³ Lit. : commensurate with (*sammitā*).

⁴ Or, if the compound (*sarva-vedānta-brāhmaṇi*) is a Bahuvrīhi : "containing the sweets of all the Upaniṣads", or the like.

Chapter 60 consists of another résumé of the Saṃhitā, another praise of it, and another warning not to betray its contents to an unworthy person. The following phrases are remarkable: "In which [Saṃhitā] the statute (*vidhā*) of the Sāṃkhya-Yoga is thought out in its totality" (17), and: "This teaching of Ahirbudhnya called the Essence of Philosophy (*tantra-sāra*)" (20); further the statement (24) that the Saṃhitā is allowed to be imparted only to members of the three higher castes.

The existence of the *Parisiṣṭa* (Supplement) seems to prove that our Saṃhitā was at one time a much studied work. This *Parisiṣṭa*, opening in the form of a dialogue between Nārada and Vyāsa, calls itself the "Hymn of the thousand names of the holy Sudarsana". It enumerates, however, after some instructions about the Mantra of the hymn, etc., only five hundred and sixty such names arranged in groups according to the consonant of the alphabet with which they begin. The names beginning with a vowel, such as Unmeṣa and Udyama mentioned in 12. *ss* of the Saṃhitā, are missing in both the MSS. available. The Paṇḍit, who attaches great importance to this little work, is probably right in stating (in his second footnote) that its publication, though forbidden, is not likely to do more harm than that of the Saṃhitā itself.

APPENDICES

APPENDICES

(Three extracts from *Sāttvata Saṃhitā*)

I. THE DIVINE TWENTY-FOUR-FOLD MACHINERY OF EXISTENCE

The ninth chapter of *Sāttvata Saṃhitā*, after having enumerated the thirty-nine Vibhavas, twelve Śaktis, and principal "bodily ornaments" (divine ornaments and weapons), continues :

vakṣye bhāvōpakaraṇaṃ gīrvāṇaṇam uttamam |
nānāvibhavamūrtināṃ yo'vatiṣṭhate śāsane || (90)

and then gives the following extraordinary list (sl. 91-94) :

- | | |
|--|--|
| 1. Time (<i>kālāḥ</i>) ; | 9. The seven sages of old ¹ ; |
| 2. Space (<i>vyat</i>) ; | 10. The planets and fixed stars ; |
| 3. Regulator (<i>niyantā</i>) ; | 11. The Vidyādhara ² ; |
| 4. The Śāstra with
Āṅgas ³ ; | 12. The Nāgas ; |
| 5. The Vidyādhīpatis ; | 13. The Apsarases ; |
| 6. The Rudra ⁴ ; | 14. The plants ; |
| 7. The Prajāpatis ; | 15. The animals ; |
| 8. Indra and his retinue ; | 16. The sacrifices with Āṅgas ; |

¹ *Śāstraṃ nānāṅgalakṣaṇam*, by which must be meant the Trayī including Dharmasāstra, Purāṇa etc. (see above p. 110), and possibly the "Vedāntas" (Upaniṣads), but not the [non-Vedāntic] philosophical systems, these being referred to by nos. 17 and 18.

² *Samudrāḥ saṅgaṇāḥ śivāḥ*. This passage appears to be corrupt, though *samudra* is, indeed, among the epithets of Śiva.

³ *Munayaḥ sapta pūrve* ; cf. Bhag. Gītā X, 6 (and above p. 61, no. 2).

⁴ *Jimūṭāḥ* "clouds", i.e. atmospheric gods ; cf. *nabhasvarāḥ*, *khecaraḥ*, and the names of their kings (*Jīmūta-vāhana*, *ketu*) in Nāgāranda.

- | | |
|---|---------------|
| 17. [Higher] Knowledge
(<i>vidyā</i>); | 21. The moon; |
| 18. Inferior Knowledge
(<i>aparā vidyā</i>) ¹ ; | 22. The sun; |
| 19. Fire; | 23. Water; |
| 20. Wind (air); | 24. Earth. |

Then follow the concluding words:

*ity uktam amaleṣṇa
caturvīṃśatisaṃkhyā ca bhā(ṭi)vāpakaraṇaṃ mahat u*

The non-inclusion, in this list, of men and Asuras, Piśācas, etc., is explained by the word *gīrvāṇyaṇam* in sl. 90 quoted above. For plants as *devatās* cf. Buddhism. The inclusion of animals, however, is strange. It is also noteworthy that the Gandharvas are evidently included in Indra's retinue, while the Apsarases are not.

II. FOUR KINDS OF WORSHIP

*Sāttvata Saṃhitā 2, 2.12*²

"Samkarṣaṇa said: Tell me concisely, O Eternal One, in what manner worship (*upāsā*) is enjoined on the worshippers devoted [to the Lord].

The holy Lord said: Listen! I will duly explain to thee that which thou hast asked me, having known which one may be freed from re-birth.

That pure Brāhman (*śad brahma*) abiding in the heart which was the goal (ideal) of those [Siddhas] who held their [respective] offices at the beginning of crea-

¹ Here we have once more the two Sciences mentioned above p. 97.

² A very different (premature) translation of most of this passage has been given by Bhandarkar in his *Vaiṣṇavism*, etc., pp. 39 fl.

tion¹, worshipping the [great light] called Vāsudeva²: from It has sprung a supreme Śāstra expressive of Its nature (*tādṛk*), bestowing discrimination, a great theosophy (*brahmōpaniṣad* *mahat*) containing the divine path (*divya-mārga*) and aiming at Liberation as the one [desirable] fruit [to be attained]. I will impart to thee, for the salvation of the world, that original [Śāstra] existing in many varieties, bestowing perfection (or: magical powers) and Liberation, the pure one, mysterious one, leading to great success.

(1) The Yogins familiar with the eightfold Yoga, satisfied with the worship of the heart: they [alone] are authorized for [the worship of] the One dwelling in the heart³.

(2) On the other hand, the Brāhmaṇas fond of⁴ mixed worship and extolling the Vedas⁵ are authorized for the worship, with Mantras, of the four Vyūhas. [They should] not [worship the Lord] in any other way.

(3) Again, [those of] the three [other castes, namely the] Kṣatriyas, etc., who have sincerely taken refuge with the Lord, should also, but not with Mantras⁶, perform the several rites connected with the worship of the four Vyūhas.

¹ Literally either "since creation" or "till creation". In the latter case the meaning would be: until creation, properly speaking, began (begins) by the appearing of the Rājo Guṇa, that is the activity of god Brahmān. *Aṣṭaṣṭakārīṇaḥ* is an epithet of the ideal first men also in Ahirb. S. (XV, 11),

² Cf. above p. 52 n. 3: *Vāsudevāhwaṇa mahat*, etc.

³ This worship, connected with the diagram of sounds (*varṇa-calana*), the six Attributes of God, etc., is described from s. 1. 13 to the end of the chapter.

⁴ For *muktānām* read *yuktānām*.

⁵ Cf. above p. 97 no. 2.

⁶ Cf. our résumé of Ahirb. S. XXXVI, above p. 127.

(4) But for [the worship of] the Mantra diagram relating to the [thirty-nine] Vibhavas¹ and for the ceremonies connected therewith none are authorized but the [truly] seeing ones, who have completely cast off the idea of the mine, are satisfied with doing their duty and wholly devoted, in deed, speech, and mind, to the Highest Lord².

Thus much about the authorization of [those of] the four castes who have embraced the [Sāttvata] religion, supposing they have been duly initiated with the Mantras prescribed."

III. DESCRIPTION OF THE FOUR VYŪHAS, FOR THE PURPOSE OF MEDITATION

Sāttvata Samhitā 5, 9-21³

"Now, the first form of the Lord is as beautiful [as to complexion] as [are] the snow, the jasmine, and the moon [united].⁴ It has four arms, a gentle face, and lotus-like eyes. It has a garment of

¹ Explained in chapter IX of the Samhitā, some later chapters being apparently also referred to. In Ahirb. S. the *vaibhavaṃ devatā-cakram* described in chapter LVI should be compared.

² This fourth class, then, consists of those Brāhmanas, among the Pañcarātrins, who have abandoned mixed, that is Vedic, worship, and, on the other hand, prefer the path of devotion to that of Yoga (compatible with Vedic worship, above p. 117). They are of course, also qualified for Vyūha worship.

³ This passage being badly preserved in the edition, I have had, several times, to follow its (slightly modified?) reproduction in Lakṣmī Tantra (X, 27 fl.). Lakṣmī Tantra actually mentions Sāttvata Samhitā in XI, 28.

⁴ That is: in the Kṛta age. In the next age (when the Rajo Guṇa appears) it changes gradually into red, then, in the Dvāpara age, into yellow, and finally, in the Kali age, into black, an analogous change taking place as to the other Vyūhas both as regards their complexion and the colour of their garment.

yellow silk and is glorified by a golden ensign.¹ With its chief (frontal) right hand it announces peace to the timid, while with the corresponding left hand it is holding a wonderful conch. With the other right hand it is holding the Sudarsana, and with the other left a heavy club resting on the ground. Let him imagine a thus-formed Vāsudeva [dwelling] in the eastern direction.

Having the [beautiful red] appearance of the Sindūra tree and the Śikhara², one-faced and four-armed, with a garment resembling the [blue] flower of the Atasi (flax-plant), distinguished by a palmyra tree [as his ensign]³; equal to the first Lord as regards his frontal pair of hands, but holding a plough-share in the hand in which the other has the discus, and a pestle where the other has a club: on a thus-like Saṃkarṣaṇa [dwelling] in the southern direction let [the devotee] meditate.

[Let him further meditate on] the third Highest Lord, of the splendour of a multitude of fire-flies assembled in a night of the rainy season, one-faced and four-armed, wearing a garment of red silk, adorned with his ensign (banner) showing the Makara (sea-elephant).⁴

¹ This is, of course, the eagle ensign (*garuḍa-dhvaja*). It must apparently be imagined as being carried by some one of the Lord's retinue (a Nitya); cf. below the note on Pradyumna's banner.

² Or Śikhara, the compound (*sindūrasikhara-kāra*) admitting of both readings, which mean respectively a kind of ruby and a species of the hemp-plant. *Sindūrasikhara* may be also translated: "the crown of a Sindūra tree".

³ When Śiva is called *tālāṅka*, the word *tāla* means a cymbal (cf. his *damru*). But Saṃkarṣaṇa's *tāla* is a *dhvaja*, as can be seen from the parallelism in the description of the Vyūhas, not to speak of other reasons. If Hindu sculptors represent Balarāma with a cymbal (?), this would seem to be a case of sculpture influenced by literature misunderstood. The palm banner is nothing extraordinary; Bhīṣma, for instance, is said to have had one.

⁴ Compare the same banner (ensign) carried by an Apsaras in the description of Pradyumna's earthly namesake (Cupid).

His frontal pair of hands should be imagined as before; in the remaining left hand there is a bow, while in the right there are five arrows. In this manner let him imagine [as dwelling] in the western direction him who is known as Pradyumna.¹

[Let him, finally, meditate on him who resembles [as to complexion] the [deep blackness of the] Añjana mountain, wears a fine white garment, is four-armed, large-eyed, and glorified by the deer² as his ensign. His first pair of hands is described like that of the first [Lord]; with the two others he is carrying; in the right hand a sword, and in the left one a shield (or club). In this way let [the devotee] meditate on Aniruddha [dwelling] in the northern direction.

All of these [four] wear³ the garland of wood-flowers, are distinguished with the Srivatsa (Viṣṇu's curl of hair on the breast), and are embellished with the king of jewels, the Kaustubha, on their breast, [further] with lovely diadems and crowns, necklaces, armlets and anklets, bright marks (made with sandal-wood, etc.) on the forehead, glittering ear-rings in the shape of a Makara (sea-elephant), excellent chaplets of manifold flowers, and with camphor and other delicious perfumes. As adorned with all of these: thus should they always be meditated upon."

¹ This, as will have been noticed, is essentially a description of Kāma, the Indian Amor, as, indeed, Pradyumna is also the name of Kāma re-born after his destruction by Śiva; cf. above p. 45.

² The *myga* (deer, antelope) is also the *lāñchana* of one of the Jain Tirthapkaras (Śānti), all of whom can be seen represented, with their respective emblems added above (or below) them, just like labels attached to portraits, on the wall of one of the cave temples of Bhuvanesvara (Orissa).

³ For the first three items cf. above p. 52.

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¹ The list enumerates: the ten elements, ten senses, three-fold Inner Organ, Prakṛti, Prasūti, Māyā, Kāla, Niyati, Śakti, the Puruṣa, Highest Heaven, and the Lord; but the next chapter explaining these admits that the "highest principle", namely the Lord, is "not a principle" or "higher than a principle" (nistatvampūrtatvam uttamam, Lakṣmī Tantra VII, 8).

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ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS

ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS

- p. 3, last line: for "the press" read "preparation".
- p. 6. fl.: Three more Samhitās may still be extant in addition to those marked as such in our Synopsis, namely the following, of which a MS. was seen, a few years ago, by one of the then paṇḍits of the Adyar Library, in a village of the Arcot District, to wit: Gārgya S., Vārāha S. and Pātalam, and Dattātreyā S.
- p. 14, ll. 11/12 from bottom: "Nāradya section". The usual name of this section containing the story of Nārada's visit to Śvetadvīpa is Nārāyaṇīya.
- pp. 14. fl. (chronology of the Samhitās) and 97 fl. (age of Ahir-budhnya Samhitā). Having just now received the J. R. A. S. for January 1916, containing A. A. Macdonell's important article on *The Development of Early Hindu Iconography*, we may say with regard to the latter that, although undoubtedly iconography will have to play a part in the establishment of the chronology of the Pāñcarātra Samhitās, it does not seem that at present much can be gained from it for the older part of that literature. For, though only "from the eighth century onwards Viṣṇu appears with eight arms" (*loc. cit.* p. 126), the iconographical material so far available from the earlier centuries is evidently far too scanty to prove that Viṣṇu was not represented as eight-armed, etc. (in addition to the four-armed form), long before that time. The following statement (p. 127) on the four-armed Vāsudeva is noteworthy, because it agrees with the date fixed on other grounds by Prof. Garbe for the later parts of the Bhagavad-Gītā (of which particularly XI, 46 should be compared): "The second half of the first century A. C. may therefore be regarded as the period when the Hindu gods began to be represented with four arms."
- p. 16, ll. 8/7 from bottom: to "about the time of Śaṅkara" the following foot-note should now be added: "We are thinking of the date which has so far had the consensus of most scholars (788-825). The attempt made quite recently, namely by S. V. Venkateswara in the J. R. A. S. 1916, pp. 151 fl., to demonstrate that Śaṅkara's life-time was 805-897, has not convinced us."
- p. 16, l. 12 from bottom: for "teacher" read "teacher's teacher".
- „ 17, l. 10: after "Upeṇdra Samhitā" insert "(no. 211)".
- „ „ l. 18: for "Pāñcarātra" read "Pāñcarātra".
- „ 18, l. 9 from bottom: read "(see above p. 4)".

- p. 24., l. 5: for *vais'eṣika* read *vaiṣayika*, and add a footnote: "This is strange and suggests the idea that an original "*vais'eṣika*" has been misunderstood by the author; cf. the sixth topic of the Sāttvata system below, p. 112."
- „ 27, note 1, add before last sentence: Yatindramata Dipikā, a later work of uncertain date, contains much modern material unknown to the Pāñcarātra.
- „ 32, l. 6 from bottom: for "teacher" read "teacher's teacher".
- p. 32 fl.: Is it a mere coincidence that in Zoroastrianism also God has six attributes? It is true that the two sets have apparently not much in common, still: might not the monotheism of the Pāñcarātrins, which evidently originated in the north-west of India, have made some external borrowings from the great religion of Iran? A similar question seems to arise with regard to the "sun-beams" and "moon-beams", into which the vowels are divided (p. 119), and the "sun-letters" and "moon-letters" of Arabic grammar, but here we find it hard to believe in any borrowing except from some common source.
- „ 41, middle, insert the following paragraph:
 An attempt at combining the several activities of the Vyūhas has been made by the author of Tatvatraya (ed. pp. 125 fl.) in the following aphorisms (which contain, indeed, all that the book has to say on the Vyūhas):
 "Of them (the Vyūhas) *Śaṃkaraśaṣa*, connected with [the Attributes called] *jñāna* and *bala*, having become the superintendent of the principle [called] soul (*jīva*), severs it from Prakṛti, and then, having assumed the state of Pradyumna, effects the appearing [and progress] of the Śāstra and [finally] the withdrawal of the world.
Pradyumna, connected with *aiśvarya* and *vīrya*, having become the superintendent of the principle [called] mind (*manas*), carries out the teaching of religion and the creation of the Pure Group consisting of the four Manus, etc.
Aniruddha, connected with *śakti* and *tejas*, performs the protection [of this world], the conferring of the knowledge of truth, the creation of time and the mixed creation."
- „ 42, l. 10: After "Upendra" insert: "from Pradyumna another Pradyumna, Nṛsiṃha, and Hari";
- „ 56, l. 17: for "Canda, Pracanda" read "Caṇḍa, Pracāṇḍa".
- „ 58, ll. 6/7: "They can assume" to "body". As a matter of fact, the soul in Heaven seems never to be imagined without a body, it being bodiless, and necessarily so, only in its Nara condition (p. 86), that is during the Great Night, when even non-natural matter is non-existent ("unified"). We may, therefore, ask in this connection whether the "atomic body" mentioned in chapter 20 (see p. 122) is not either a "non-natural" body possessed already, unknowingly, by the soul, or else a third "natural" body, the only one remaining

to the soul for its passage from the Sun to Heaven. For, according to the view of Kauṣītaki Upaniṣad which has been adopted by the Viśiṣṭādvaitins and was apparently also known to the Pāñcarātrins, the liberated soul has still many stations to pass on its further journey from the Sun to the river Virajā (Vijarā) which is the boundary between this and the other world, and it cannot do so, evidently, in a bodiless condition, for which reason Yat. Dip. teaches (ed. p. 77) that not before crossing the Virajā does the soul exchange its subtle (second physical) body for a non-natural one, whereas Tripādvibhūtimahānārāyaṇa Upaniṣad (chapters V and VI), on the assumption that the Virajā is not the said boundary but still within the Egg, declares that the soul through bathing in Virajā exchanges its subtle body for a "magical body" (*kevalamantramaya-divyatejomaya-niratisayānandamaya-mahāviṣṇusārūpyavi-graha-sarira*, later simply called *mantramaya sarira*), and long afterwards, in a place far outside the Egg, namely the Brahmanvidyā river, casts off the "magical body" in order to assume its final garment, the "immortal Divine body consisting of the bliss of [Brahma] knowledge" (or: "of knowledge and bliss; *vidyānandamaya amṛtadivya-sarira*).

- p. 60, l. 9. from bottom: for "Rṣis" read "Rṣis".
 „ 68, l. 6 „ „ : for *vaiṣaṃya* read *vaiṣaṃya*.
 „ 80, l. 11 „ „ : for "Hṛṣikeśa" read "Hṛṣikeśa".
 „ 82, l. 18 for "group" read "Group".
 „ 83, l. 2 from bottom: for "Citrasikhandins" read "Citrasikhandins".
 p. 92, l. 4 from bottom: for "58, 59" read "52, 53".
 „ 97, l. 5 „ „ : for "never" read "not, as a rule".
 „ 110, ll. 17 and 18 should read: "seventeen (or twenty-one?) sciences, from the six Vedāṅgas down to politics (*nīti*) and the science of professions (*vārttā*), regarded as subsidiary to the Vedas".
 „ 112, note 4, add: "It is clear that *saṃyama* and *cintā* are the same as *saṃyama* and *saṃādhi* mentioned in note 3, p. 111.
 „ 121, l. 9 from bottom: for "Vedānta" read "Vedānta".
 „ 145, l. 9 „ „ : for "Pāñcarātra" read "Pāñcarātra".

SUPPLEMENTARY LIST OF ERRATA

Found in the edition of Ahirbudhnya Samhitā.

Page	line	
79	9	: for विज्ञानत्रितयात्मकम् read <i>ex conj.</i> विज्ञातं त्रिकधारकम्.
82	10	: <i>dele</i> (अथ शक्त्यादिचक्राणि) and enter between lines 8 and 9 : (अथ पुरुषादिचक्राणि).
107	10	: for शाल्यभिचार read शान्त्यभिचार.
126	16	} „ शक्तिपाकः read <i>ex conj.</i> शक्तिपातः.
127	3	
495	9	: „ तोष्यामीति read <i>ex conj.</i> तुष्यामीति.
532	6	: „ ँसमाख्या° read <i>ex conj.</i> ँसदाख्या°.
578	8	: between lines 8 and 9 insert : (उपसंहारः).
581	12	: for छिन्ते read छिन्ते.
594	2	: „ राहुजिदाख्यैकोन° read राहुजिदाख्यैक°.
„	8	: „ श्रीरामाख्याष्टाविंशैकोनत्रिंशवतार° read श्रीरामाख्य- पञ्चत्रिंशषट्त्रिंशवतार°.
615	3	: „ कतून्ज्ञान° read कतून्ज्ञान°.
626	6	: „ ँमन्तार्थानिरूपणे read ँमन्तार्थनिरूपणे.
643,	lines 17 to 20	not belonging to the text of the Samhitā should be in small type.